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Perceptions of teacher competence in Cruzan and continental Head Start classrooms.

Helen D. Steinberg Laurence
University of Massachusetts Amherst

PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHER COMPETENCE IN CRUZAN AND CONTINENTAL HEAD START CLASSROOMS

A Dissertation Presented

By

HELEN D. STEINBERG LAURENCE

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Approved as to style and content by:

Emma M. Cappelluzzo, Chairperson

David E. Day, Member

Gloria I. Joseph, Member

Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education

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This dissertation was begun in 1971 at the University of Massachusetts, and was simmering quietly at the back of my mind when I came to St. Croix for the first time in 1973 as a stranger. I did not stay a stranger for long, thanks to the famous Cruzan warmth and hospitality which I was lucky enough to enjoy. My thanks go especially to Shirley and the late Stan Laurence, whose home in Golden Rock was my first home in St. Croix. I deeply regret that I was away from St. Croix at the time of Stan's death in November 1978. I was in Amherst, working on the dissertation, and so it is to Stan Laurence that this work is dedicated.

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ABSTRACT

Perceptions of Teacher Competence in Cruzan and Continental Head Start Classrooms

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Helen D. Steinberg Laurence, B.A., Radcliffe College

M.Ed., Harvard University, Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Emma M. Cappelluzzo

It was the purpose of this study to examine the applicability of a North American conception of teacher competence to an education program in the Virgin Islands. Three main lines of inquiry were followed.

First, the study proceeded in the tradition of teacher effectiveness research by singling out one dimension of the multidimensional concept of teacher competence. The political dimension was chosen. The conceptualization of teacher competence in political terms was seen as particularly important for two reasons: 1) the issues of regulatory administration which govern the assessment of teacher competence are typically neglected in the body of teacher effectiveness research; and 2) the investigation of teacher competence was conducted in the context of the Head Start program which was conceived by political means for political ends. The political nature of the Head Start program was traced to its origins in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. A discussion of the "maximum feasible participation" clause in the Economic Opportunity Act revealed a pattern of contradictions in the policies of the administra-

tive agency towards consumer participation in standards formulation. The unilateral and centralized development and eventual dissemination of Child Development Associate (CDA) competency criteria in performance standards was presented as an example of these contradictions.

The second line of inquiry followed the tradition of the critical reading of historical and interpretive materials. The literature on Caribbean and United States Virgin Islands colonial history and education was reviewed. Education in the Virgin Islands was seen to share with other colonial situations such defining characteristics as dependence, exogenous decision-making, imposition and assumption of the status implications of colonial schooling, and the related tendency of the education system to function as a conservative social force. The identification of these definitive features made it possible to recognize in the implementation of compensatory education programs, and in the development of the CDA program specifically, elements of functional similarity to the colonial model.

The third line of inquiry proceeded in the tradition of cross-cultural comparative field study. An empirical approach was taken in an exploratory study to determine if two groups of Head Start teachers in different cultural settings had different perceptions of teacher competence in the context of an education system possessing some of the defining features of the colonial model. The null hypothesis was that there were no significant differences between Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers in their perceptions of teacher competence. The analysis of data suggested that St. Croix teachers were significantly

more likely than Boston teachers to assign high importance to the summary index of questionnaire items associated with teachers' ability to advance the physical and intellectual competence of children ($p < .02$) and to the summary index of questionnaire items associated with teachers' ability to set up and maintain a safe and healthy learning environment ($p < .04$). For a number of methodological reasons, however, the null hypothesis was neither accepted nor rejected.

Based on the results of the three main lines of inquiry, it was concluded that there is reason to believe that there exist cross-cultural differences in perceptions of Head Start teacher competence. It was further concluded that different competency criteria thus might appropriately be formulated in accordance with the educational values and goals of different consumer groups.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The system of public education in the U.S. Virgin Islands today is in serious trouble, as it has been since its inception (Harrigan, 1972; Kohls, 1974; Lewis, 1972; NYU, 1963; Turnbull, 1976). Reading scores average three years below grade level; new buildings are disintegrating through vandalism, mis-use, and poor planning; much of the curriculum is irrelevant to the experience of the children; staff turnover is high, and more than half of the teachers are imported from off-island, bringing their alien values with them into the classroom, where they are rarely welcomed or accepted by students, administration, or other teaching staff. The mere recitation of these troubles does not necessarily distinguish the Virgin Islands education system from virtually any other education system in the U.S. It is the genesis and history of the institutional dysfunction which distinguishes the Virgin Islands from the Continental U.S. in that inclusive fraternity of troubled education systems. It is widely assumed locally that the problems plaguing Virgin Islands education are in some way associated with the fact that the system was developed by a process of transfer to and assimilation by the Virgin Islands, of North American practices which were originally developed for very different situations in very different cultures (Corbin, n.d.; Harrigan, 1972; Shorey, 1973; Varlack, 1974; Williams, 1946, 1960, 1968, 1969). This process of

transfer presumes a principle of universality in institutions such as education which, in most Third World countries, especially those with a relatively recent history of colonialism, is commonly recognized as highly derivative of the educational institutions of the metropole (Figueroa, 1971; Foster, 1965; Gordon, 1963, 1968; Kerr, 1952; Lewis, 1972; Neill, 1966).

At issue in this dissertation is the presumed universality of educational institutions, specifically with regard to the applicability of a North American conception of teacher competence to an education program in the U.S. Virgin Islands. The question raised in relation to this general issue is whether standards or normative conceptions of teacher competence can be applied effectively across cultures. Head Start was the education program selected for this study. Head Start was chosen because the issue of teacher competency is a very real concern in Head Start programs at present. The reason for this current concern is that the federal funding agency, Administration for Children, Youth, and Families (ACYF), formerly Office of Child Development (OCD), has empowered an independent agency to develop and promulgate "competency standards" for Head Start teachers. These standards are tied to a credential (the Child Development Associate or CDA) and to a highly specific credential award system. These standards have been disseminated on a nation-wide basis and all Head Start programs will be required to demonstrate compliance. That is, by 1981, all Head Start teachers are expected to have received

the CDA credential. Thus, at this time it seems particularly relevant to ask whether there may be contraindications to the adoption of the CDA competency-based teacher education program by the Head Start program of the U.S. Virgin Islands.

In an effort to answer this question, this dissertation will begin by constructing a conceptual model by which the idea of teacher competence may be more clearly understood. The political nature of the concept of competence will receive particular emphasis. A survey of the literature will review the work which has been written on the question cited above: Whether educational standards or norms especially in relation to teacher competency can be effectively applied cross-culturally. The literature on compensatory education is included in this category, to the extent that compensatory education is viewed as a large-scale attempt to apply educational norms and standards cross-culturally. Readings on the consequences of importing educational institutions to colonial areas will be presented in order to trace the development of an education system in the U.S. Virgin Islands, and to compare the goals, functions and values of education in the Virgin Islands with those of the U.S. mainstream culture.

It will be assumed that the concept of teacher competence relates in a fundamental way to the role and function of education in post-colonial as well as metropolitan societies. The first assumption, which is given considerable support in the literature, is that the quality of teaching (teacher competence) is the single most important

determinant of the quality of an educational program. Similarly, an education program which is recognized as successful or of high quality reflects what is considered to be optimum, or to represent the ideal role and function of education in the society under study. Perceptions of teacher competence are therefore assumed to reflect or correspond to the accepted definitions of the optimal or ideal role or function of education in the society under study. The empirical study compares perceptions of teacher competence among Head Start teachers in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, with perceptions of teacher competence among Head Start teachers in Boston, Massachusetts. Both groups' perceptions of teacher competency were measured with respect to the standard or norm of competence implicit in Head Start's competency-based inservice teacher training program, the CDA program as expressed in five (5) competency factors--the CDA Competencies A-E.

A questionnaire was the instrument of measurement for this data. A structured interview asked two open-ended questions about the behaviors, skills, and attributes of competent teachers. Although the research design was not that of an experimental study, for the purposes of discussion of the empirical investigation, Perceptions of Teacher Competency is considered as the dependent variable in a study comparing Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers. Location or "culture" is considered as the independent variable. The null hypothesis states that as a result of cross-cultural "treatment," or application of CDA standards, no differences will occur in perceptions

of teacher competency among Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers.

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The Need for Adequate Conceptualization. At the heart of every study undertaken in the field of research on teaching is the implicit or explicit assumption that the quality of the teaching staff is the single most important variable determining the quality of an educational program (Awoniyi, 1975; Hochstetler, 1973/74; Klein, 1973; Rowe, 1972; Spodek, 1972; White, 1971). Numerous and complex methodologies have been developed to evaluate, quantify and predict teacher performance. Over the past 50 years, literally thousands of studies of teacher effectiveness and the assessment of teacher performance attest to the widely held belief in the central role of the teacher in the educational process (Domas and Tiedeman, 1950; Turner and Fattu, 1960; Yamamoto, 1964). Although a strong consensus exists on the importance of the teacher's role, most research has been unable to identify the components of effective or competent teaching. The unreliability of most of the studies reflects the elusiveness of the phenomena under investigation (Glass, 1974; Medley and Mitzel, 1963; Spodek, 1972). Review articles on teacher effectiveness research and methods for the prediction and assessment of teacher competency agree that the problem under study is very complex and that there is little consensus in the literature on the nature of the relationship between teacher attributes and educational outcomes.

This remarkable lack of consensus may be understood in light of the fact that scant attention is commonly given to an explication of the conceptual framework implicit in the whole area under study; in this case, teacher competency.

In most studies, the teacher's role is rather narrowly defined by the selection of specific variables for study in relation to student performance, classroom climate, possession of a certain credential, years of experience, etc. (Domas and Tiedeman, 1950; Goodenough, 1946; Gordon and Jester, 1973; McNeil and Popham, 1973; Medley and Mitzel, 1959; Rosenshine and Furst, 1973; Scott, 1969; Sontag, 1967; Stephens, 1967; Verma, 1974). According to Spodek, these investigations represent an oversimplification of the exceedingly complex social system of the school and the classroom (Spodek, 1972). Taking Spodek's analysis one step further, it would appear that most research on the assessment and analysis of teacher effectiveness is culturally circumscribed. That is, studies done in Florida or New Zealand (Rosenshine and Furst, 1973) fail to acknowledge the degree of generalizability their results may or may not have as a result of particular cultural norms or standards specific to the communities in which the schools and classrooms are located.

The majority of work done on defining and analyzing the elements of competence is inconclusive if, as Spodek claims in his review article (1972), neither personality characteristics, teaching style, nor teacher behavior in the classroom show any significant relationship

to educational outcomes. He suggests that a reconceptualization of the factors involved in teaching and learning may be in order. More to the point, the literature, with notable exceptions (Turner, 1971; Rosenshine and Furst, 1971) is generally quite weak on the conceptualization of the nature of teacher effectiveness or competency. Clearly, if the conceptual foundations of a problem under investigation are not made explicit or clarified, the results of the study will likely suffer from the shortcomings which, it would seem, are endemic to the preponderance of research on teaching.

Therefore, before proceeding with a study of perceptions of teacher competency, it is necessary to develop an adequate conceptualization of the notion of competence. The first step in this process will be to provide definitions of terms which will frequently be used.

Definition of Terms. The following terms appear in the dissertation:

Teacher Effectiveness: This term is used to describe a body of research which employs an approach to the study of what good teachers do and how to evaluate and/or predict teacher work performance. This research is characterized by emphasis on selection of variables for study such as personal attributes or style of the teacher, teacher behaviors (interaction analysis), or student achievement (educational outcomes). Of this body of research it has been said that

> . . . although most educators agree that the teacher is the most important element in the educational picture, there is relatively little we can say about the relationship of various attributes of the teacher and the educational performance of the children. Neither personality characteristics, styles of teaching, nor specific teacher behaviors have shown any relationship to children's learning (Spodek, 1972:347).

A review of the literature supports this position (Smith, 1971; Stephens, 1967; White, 1971; Rosenshine and Furst, 1973).

The type of preservice training received by teachers does not figure significantly in these studies, except insofar as the presence or absence of a teaching credential is routinely noted. In fact, of all criteria used to assess and/or to predict effective teacher performance, the one most widely and consistently employed--the standard teaching certificate or credential--is perhaps the least reliable (Conant, 1963; Glass, 1974). This is understandable in view of the fact that a credential or certificate is not a criterion of performance or a method of

evaluation at all, but a form of regulatory administration. That is, certification sets a standard of cognitive and performance criteria, the absence of or deficiency in which is deemed to be harmful to the population protected by the regulatory setting of standards; e.g., consumers: children, students, the parents (Class, 1973).

Teacher Competency: The term competency gained currency coincident with an increasing interest in a systems approach to instructional processes and products (Rosenshine and Furst, 1971; Schmieder, 1973; Smith, 1971). The term refers as much to a particular type of teacher training program--Competency Based Teacher Education (CBTE)--as it does to behavioral and cognitive skills presumed to be part of the repertoire characteristic of competent teachers (Rosner, 1972; Spodek, 1972). Two of the primary distinguishing characteristics of CBTE are: 1) goals of the program are expressed as precise objectives which are stated in behavioral terms; that is, desired classroom behaviors are translated into performance criteria which are the goals the teacher trainees are specifically trained to attain; and 2) the criteria to be used in assessing competencies of trainees are to be made public and explicit (Schmieder, 1973). In addition, CBTE has been characterized as a "movement" and identified as having more than 40 generating principles or factors, including a "growing dissatisfaction with present approaches - emphasized in (a) landslide of publications," "greater direct involvement of communities who feel that their schools have not met the needs of

their children," "student demands for more relevant education," "increase in public crusade for accountability," "increasing emphasis of federal government on systems management," "recognition of differences in learning and teaching styles," "heightened awareness of cultural differences," "desire for more expressive culture," and "desire of state education departments to develop more effective certification processes and standards," to list only a few (pp. 3-4).

Critics of this systems approach to teacher education and classroom teaching behavior say that these programs are flawed by the fact that the sources of the performance criteria are in most cases not specified and that a standard or accepted repertoire of teaching skills which will consistently influence student achievement has not been successfully identified (Rosenshine and Furst, 1971; Spodek, 1972). Furthermore, one reviewer maintains that there is no evidence that participation in one variety of training program produces better teachers than participation in other types of training programs (Spodek, 1972).

Perception: Perception refers to an understanding or knowledge derived from sensory processes. Perceptions are thus concrete, based upon visual, aural, or other sensory stimuli. In order to discover perceptions of teacher competency among the populations sampled, subjects were asked to describe what they would "look for" upon entering a classroom to decide whether the teacher in that room were a good teacher. It is important thus to differentiate between perceptions

(concrete) and attitudes or values in a study of competency, since competence is conceived as a constellation of concrete behaviors and skills as opposed to a highly inferential cluster of personality traits and attributes.

Credential: From the Latin credere--to believe, put trust in (Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary). A credential is a piece of paper certifying that the bearer has successfully completed a required process or set of conditions. The certifying agency or regulatory body which awards the credential provides a guarantee or assurance that the credentialed person can provide particular services or perform particular tasks in a way which will simply meet (not necessarily surpass) certain specified minimum standards or criteria. This credentialling process, which is central to the concept of competence, will be discussed in more detail below in the section on Regulatory Administration.

Standard: The dictionary defines a standard as something established for use as a rule or basis of comparison in measuring or judging capacity, quantity, context, extent, value, quality, etc; as standards of weight and measure are fixed by the government. Standards are inflexible ways of defining consensual expectations. The operationalization of these expectations allows for flexibility in the alternative means by which standards are met. The invocation of a standard implies the administration of positive or negative sanctions: that is, the permission or denial of permission to do something that

would ordinarily be forbidden without the invocation of the standard (such as a license or a credential). Standard is also defined as anything recognized as correct by common consent, by approved custom, or by those most competent to decide; a model; a type; a pattern; a criterion. Finally, a standard can be used to describe a level or grade of excellence, attainment, etc.; regarded as a goal or measure of adequacy (Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary). It is important, for the purposes of this study, to recognize that a standard can represent a fixed value, a model validated by consensus or custom, and/or a description of a level of achievement.

Norm: A norm is a standard, model or pattern for a group; especially, such a standard of achievement as represented by the median or average achievement of a large group. A norm is a widely held standard--an accepted model or pattern of action, value, or belief held in common by a large group of people. The term "a normative conception of competency" describes a particular concept or notion of competence which is presumed to be held in common by a large group of people.

Culture: A synthesis of several definitions of culture, characterized as arising in a general way from "anthropological common sense," gives us a definition of culture as "a system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting;" to act according to one's culture is to behave according to the standards one has learned from other members of the community in which one lives (Hannerz, 1969: 179, 183). In other words, "culture is the particular system of standards

. . . (used) to interpret the behavior of others in order to guide . . . (the individual's) behavior." The important element of this definition is of course the notion of culture as consisting of learning of standards by group reinforcement and acceptance. To demonstrate that cultural differences do or do not exist between two or more groups being studied, it would be necessary, in these terms, to determine that the major beliefs, values, attitudes, and ideas about what constitutes acceptable standards of social performance in one group differ from those of the other group (Sanday, 1976:183).

The Nature of Competence. Competence, whether defined according to the vocabulary of teacher effectiveness research, or in terms of Competency based teacher education, may be viewed praxiologically as belonging to one or more categories or classes. For example, competence may be conceptualized in purely behavioral terms, identified by specific performance criteria which teachers must demonstrate in order to be considered as "competent" (Jones et al, 1978). Competence may also be viewed in terms of educational outcomes, empirical measures of student achievement. For example, one school superintendent used gains in students' reading scores and other grades as the basis for awarding salary increments to teachers who proved successful or "competent" in those terms (S.S. Brooks, 1921, in Domas and Tiedeman, 1950). Emphasis on knowledge of a specific subject area characterized the cognitive approach to teacher competence (Stephens, 1967). Teacher competency is often viewed as a constellation of particular attitudinal variables; many studies of "competent" teachers conclude by listing desirable personal characteristics or traits (Steinberg, 1973d).

Competence is most frequently regarded as synonymous with a professional classification or description as when, for example, a credential or certificate is assumed or expected to confer "competent" status upon the bearer. A category which subsumes the notion of competence as a concomitant of professional status is that of competence in its legal aspects, as the subject of the process of regulatory administration. This process functions as a protective measure in defining a

minimum standard of behavior or skill below which no practitioner could be deemed "competent" (licensing); or by setting maximum or ideal standards and awarding a positive sanction of official approval to those who meet the standards (certification) (Class, 1973).

The confusion implicit in these different conceptualizations, which characterize teacher competence as falling variously along a continuum from the purely behavioral to the totally abstract, may serve to illustrate why the majority of studies on teacher effectiveness have shown such equivocal results.

The literature on Competency-based teacher education (CBTE) is of a single, unequivocal voice in proclaiming that the sources of competence, variously conceptualized, derive from beliefs about the goals and purposes of education. In other words, specific competencies derive from the educational ideology upon which the goals and purposes are based (Marshall, 1974). Kohlberg and Mayer, in a discussion of the aims of education, begin by emphasizing the importance of "the choice of ends for the educational process" (1972:449). This step is also acknowledged as the first in CBTE, for the goals of the process of teaching must be formulated before developing strategies (performance criteria, or "competencies") for accomplishing those goals (Elam, 1971; Marshall, 1974). Kohlberg and Mayer go on to describe three different educational ideologies, arising from three different psychological theories and corresponding to three different value orientations: 1) the "romantic" stream in western educational ideology stresses mental health and happi-

ness through the natural unfolding of the developmental process; 2) the "cultural transmission" model stresses the function of education as the vehicle by which cultural "knowledge, skills, and social and moral rules" are passed on to the young in each generation; and 3) the "progressive" stream in educational ideology, characterized by the view that cognitive and moral development is "progression through invariant ordered sequential stages," fostered by interaction of the individual with the society or environment. The differences between these three educational ideologies are summarized in the description of morality according to the progressive model as "neither the internalization of established cultural values nor the unfolding of spontaneous impulses and emotions; it is ... the reciprocity between the individual and others in his environment" (Kohlberg and Mayer, 1972:449-455).

This description of three main streams in western educational ideology is not intended to identify one or the other model as appropriate; rather the purpose is to point out that since each of the ideologies (and hypothetically, any other distinct ideology which might be postulated) spring from a different set of assumptions about the nature of development of the individual and of goals for the larger society, goals and objectives arising from each of the three (or more) ideologies or belief systems will also therefore differ. This being the case, CBTE programs using competencies derived from educational goals and objectives based upon one or another particular belief system may be proceeding on the assumption that everyone concerned in the program is

in agreement on the underlying philosophical and conceptual basis which may or may not have been clearly articulated (Marshall, 1974).

Similarly, studies conducted on the basis of unexamined conceptions of teacher competency or teacher effectiveness contribute to the confusion surrounding the conceptualization of the nature of teacher competence. In fact, the assumptions about the conceptual nature of competence as the focus of research are seldom made explicit. Explicit or not, most of the literature deals with competence either as an empirical category, based upon cognitive or behavioral skills or performances linked with student outcomes in terms of achievement, less often, with student behaviors; or, much less frequently, as a value category based upon judgments about the nature of human experience and the purposes of the educational enterprise in that context (Cooper et al, 1973).

Most infrequently does a study come to terms with, or even acknowledge, the statutory issue of credentialling in relation to issues of teacher competence which, it will be shown, is a common denominator linking other conceptual categories. Specifically, none of the studies which have attempted to identify the elements of effective or competent teaching have made more than passing reference to the statutory basis of competence. This is a serious omission which ignores the very great extent to which the possession of a credential is seen as symbolic or representative of "competence." To this extent, the nature of competence may be seen as inextricably bound up with the system of regulatory ad-

ministration which governs the credentialling process. Therefore, in order to develop a conceptual model of competence, the role and significance of the system of regulatory administration, in relation to credentialling or certification, and thus to competence, must be clarified and explored. This is the aim of the following section on the statutory basis of competence.

The Statutory Basis of Competence: Regulatory Administration. Before embarking on a discussion of the treatment of teacher competence in various forms of regulation, a brief review of the characteristics and elements of regulatory administration is in order.*

Regulatory Administration is a consumer protection activity. Regulatory administration protects consumers of a service which is officially recognized as being in the public interest and which has been determined by the community to be in need of regulation. A concern with proper safeguards for consumers is central to the function of regulatory administration. The ideas of due process, entitlement, rule of law, and separation of powers--all aspects of administrative law relating to regulatory administration--are associated historically with the attempt to protect the interests of private individuals against arbitrary exercise of government (royal, police) powers. Towards the goal of safeguarding users of a community service, regulatory administration is composed of three elements:

1) Formulation of Standards--rules, regulations, requirements. These describe community expectations so they can be operationalized. Usually the legislature will mandate a way for standards to be determined or set. This will happen either by statute or by delegation to an agency. Ideally there should be provision for some participation of people who are affected by the regulations in determining standards.

* This discussion is based upon Steinberg's (1973a,b,c) work on Regulatory Administration of day care licensing practices.

For example, the presence of consumers and providers of the service on a task force to formulate standards would lend credence to the label "community" expectations as it applies to the process of formulation of standards. Participation in the process of standards formulation has been analyzed (Jambor, 1965) in terms of a continuum or "interest participation scale" consisting of three elements: 1) procedural due process; 2) partnership; and 3) interest representation. Jambor defines the procedural due process as a unilateral and very formalized administrative activity involving the giving of public notice and affording interested parties the opportunity to be heard before government action is taken; specifically, the adoption and promulgation of rules or standards. Inherent in the concept of due process is the requirement that programs regulated by government agencies must have articulated standards to be eligible for funding or services. Partnership is construed as a highly collaborative relationship characterized by sharing in deliberation and decision-making, and thus approximating self-regulation. Interest representation, derived from public administration, is defined as a semi-formal, multi-lateral consultative type of relationship occurring prior to the adoption of specific policies to implement regulatory measures. On Jambor's interest participation scale, the highly formalized due process construct was at one end opposite the fully collaborative partnership construct, with interest representation in the middle. Jambor's survey of child care licensing practices revealed that although no explicit

system or methodology was acknowledged by government agencies responsible for standards formulation, in fact the practice reflected the middle construct of interest representation as a methodology in implicit form.

2) Application of Standards--the program, person or place to be regulated is measured against the standard to determine conformity. There is or should be no implied "evaluation." The question is simply one of conformity with the standard. Upon analysis, two functions in the process of applying standards become apparent:

a) a teaching function: This differs from consultation. It simply presents that which is expected according to the standard; and

b) a grading function: The grading function determines whether the standard is met.

3) Application of Sanctions--having set standards, taught, examined and judged the degree of conformity, positive or negative sanctions are administered. The administering agency wields the statutory clout of criminal law.

There are four kinds of regulatory administration which are commonly used:

1) Accreditation and Certification. These programs set a ceiling on performance. Usually a private organization will set high/ideal standards and will give a stamp of approval to those who meet the standards (e.g., Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval, Child Welfare League

of America).

2) Fiscal Regulatory Control. This form of regulation is usually applied to publicly funded programs in the private sector. These regulations say in effect, "all programs must comply with these standards if they want their money." Head Start guidelines are such regulations (U.S. OCD:1975).

3) Inspection-Approval of Public Programs. Public programs have a statutory right to exist, so no licensing agency or other organization can revoke that right to exist without statutory action. It is contrary to the doctrine of separation of powers to give one public agency the power to regulate and apply legal sanctions to another public agency, at least in theory.

4) Licensing. A license represents the lifting of a legislative prohibition by an administrative agency. The relevant statute will typically prohibit the provision of the service and then allow for the lifting of the legislative prohibition through the administrative regulatory act of licensing (Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Freund, 1935). The responsibility for licensing is delegated to a local agency which formulates standards. Licensing regulations invariably represent minimum standards rather than model standards. Since licensing sets a minimum floor of acceptable standards below which no program, place, or person may legally fall and still remain in operation, licensing regulations cannot be said to provide a definition of teacher competence. The section in licensing regulations governing "Staff Qualifications"

is highly variable in content from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, but will frequently make general statements to the effect that the teacher should have no criminal record (Prescott et al, 1972), should be of good moral character, and should be physically and mentally well (Virgin Islands Day Care Licensing Manual, 1976). Licensing regulations may or may not set specific standards for education, experience, and training in early childhood education.

If licensing regulations cannot be said to provide a definition of teacher competence, what then is the statutory basis of competence? It is possible to speak of the statutory basis of teacher competence only insofar as legislation exists governing the issuance of a permit, license, or certificate to teach. In most states, such legislation does exist, only, however, with respect to primary and secondary teaching, and to higher education. Authority for teacher certification is commonly delegated to an administrative agency, in most cases the state department of education (Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Stinnett, 4th Ed.). The idea that the nature and quality of education is determined largely by the ability and preparation of teachers is the primary assumption on which certification is based (LaBue, 1960). This idea also corresponds to one of the central assumptions of this study and seems to indicate a direct relationship between competence and certification. There are well-developed systems for certification of primary and secondary teachers in most states. In discussions of these systems, however, there appears to be a very basic confusion in the use of the

words licensing and certification. They are often used interchangeably, but they do not mean the same thing. This confusion may reflect an underlying ambiguity as to the nature and function of licensing (defining minimum acceptable levels of ability and performance) and certification (defining goals or model standards). For example,

> The requirements for licensing and certification are the major determinants of the nature of teacher training programs. These requirements are the statutory responsibility of official state bodies, and specifications may range from generalized, permissive competency-centered requirements to detailed prescriptions for courses. . . From the point of view of public authorities charged with upholding professional standards, the establishment of specific requirements at least establishes a common professional background necessary to maintain minimum levels of preparation.
>
> Prescriptive certification requirements have been under attack from many quarters, both from within and without the universities. Criticism has been particularly strong among those who argue for greater university autonomy in programming and among those who see in the prescriptions a plot by the educational establishment to maintain the status quo (Encyclopedia of Education, Schueler, 1971, 9:69).

This statement seems to make a distinction between what may be considered a licensing function (prescriptive course requirements establish a minimum level of professional preparation) and certification (generalized competency-centered requirements), although this distinction is not clearly articulated. A further ambiguity is introduced in the above statement. This concerns the question of whether the certification process embodies disparate functions: on the one hand, certifica-

tion is seen as "the legal evidence of competence" according to the definition in the Encyclopedia of Education (Ware, 1971, 9:21) and on the other, as a political tool (Koerner, 1963). Other commentators acknowledge the political nature of the certification process in terms of its influence and control over access to resources and power. The second half of the definition of certification in the Encyclopedia is straightforward in stating that "certification is the authorization to receive payment from public funds for teaching" (Ware, 1971, 9:21). The endeavor of training for the profession is certainly undertaken with the understanding that the process will result in access to these resources. Concerns have been voiced that the certification "gate" "may be used to create a monopoly or semi-monopoly situation for the purpose of eliminating competition and raising prices" (Carman, 1960:136). In addition to economic sanctions, an ideological caveat is expressed: "Canons of technical competence are one thing; those of ideological persuasion are another. . . (T)he fear is that a national (certification) agency will try to palm off the latter as the former" (Lieberman, 1960:197). Finally, certification may be viewed as a method of control, as "State certification agencies exercise the greatest influence over local school district personnel through certification of professional workers" (Encyclopedia of Education, Haskew, 1971, 8:438). Thus, while the systems of teacher certification are assumed and perhaps intended to embody standards of teacher competency, they cannot be said to do so in any consistent way. The teacher certification process does represent a

legal authority for defining requirements for issuing certificates (Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Stinnett, 4th Ed.), and as such, provides a means of legal redress to teachers or candidates for certification who feel that their rights have been abridged by the system.

The two sources of statutory power delegated to administrative agencies to perform functions associated with the definitions of teacher competence (licensing and certification as they are commonly defined) are not useful in articulating the components of teacher competence in preschool settings. On what basis, then, is it possible to discuss the statutory basis of preschool teacher competence? First, it is possible to discuss the statutory basis of preschool teacher competence only after the type of preschool program is specified. Private ("proprietary") programs are subject to licensing regulations which represent minimum standards and thus do not reflect a statutory basis for the concept of teacher competence, which concept implies a goal or effect to be desired. Public programs, such as Head Start (which use federal funds sub-contracted through a grantee to a delegate agency, or local organization, which may or may not be in the public domain, such as a church, which can carry out the goals and objectives of the Head Start Program), are not subject to licensing regulations; instead regulation is theoretically accomplished through another type of regulatory administration--fiscal regulatory control--the implications of which are self-evident: A program must conform to regulations or lose its funding. In the case of Head Start, regulations, or "standards" refers to the

"program performance standards" which were developed by the Office of Child Development and published in 1975. This document sets out the goals and objectives of the Head Start Program. Page one of the Performance Standards makes it clear that "while compliance with the performance standards is required as a condition of Federal Head Start funding, it is expected that the standards will be largely self-enforcing" (U.S. OCD, 1975:1). This clearly corresponds to Jambor's "partnership" construct which apparently applies equally to the formulation and the enforcement of standards. The Head Start performance standards document does not reveal the extent to which consumer participation contributed to the formulation of the performance standards.

It is appropriate here to discuss the assumptions implicit in the Head Start Program itself, in order to return to a discussion of the statutory basis of Head Start teacher competency with a better understanding of the issues involved. First, the Head Start Program developed as a direct result of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which stated in its declaration of purpose that it is the policy of the United States "to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity," remarking in addition that "The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society" (U.S. Congress, 1964:1).

Second, the description of Head Start in the Federal Register makes a strong statement of the primary assumptions of the Head Start Program:

> Many of the benefits of Head Start are rooted in 'change.' These changes must take place in the family itself, in the community, and in the attitudes of people and institutions that have an impact on both.
>
> It is clear that the success of Head Start in bringing about substantial changes demands the fullest involvement of the parents, parental-substitutes, and families of children enrolled in its programs. This involvement begins when a Head Start program begins and should gain vigor and vitality as planning and activities go forward.
>
> Successful parental involvement enters into every part of Head Start, influences other anti-poverty programs, helps bring about changes in institutions in the community, and works toward altering the social conditions that have formed the systems that surround the economically disadvantaged child and his family.
>
> Project Head Start must continue to discover new ways for parents to become deeply involved in decision-making about the program and in the development of activities that they deem helpful and important in meeting their particular needs and conditions. For some parents, participation may begin on a simple level and move to more complex levels. For other parents the movement will be immediate, because of past experiences, into complex levels of sharing and giving. Every Head Start program is obligated to provide the channels through which such participation and involvement can be provided for and enriched.
>
> Unless this happens, the goals of Head Start will not be achieved and the program itself will remain a creative experience for the preschool child in a setting that is not reinforced by needed changes in social systems into which the child will move after his Head Start experience.
>
> This sharing in decisions for the future is one of the primary aims of parents participation and involvement in Project Head Start (40 Fed. Reg., 1975:27,570).

David K. Cohen (1970) sharpens this focus in a discussion of the conceptual difficulty involved in applying educational evaluative ap-

proaches to programs such as Head Start, which are by intent primarily social action programs:

> While the . . . programs seek to bring about political and social change, evaluators generally approach them as if they were standard efforts to bring about educational change. This results in no small part from ambiguity of the programs - since they are political endeavors in education, the program content and much of the surrounding rhetoric is educational (216)

and

> . . . evaluating social action programs is only secondarily a scientific enterprise. First and foremost it is an effort to gain politically significant /236/ information on the consequences of political acts. To confuse the technology of measurement with the real nature and broad purposes of evaluation will be fatal . . . (236-237).

It has been shown that the statutory power for determining and enforcing compliance with standards has been delegated by the Congress to an administrative agency (OCD, now ACYF) which, using its discretionary powers, has delegated those powers to the grantee. There is no specific information in the performance standards concerning how teacher competence should be defined or assessed, or by whom. There is no specific mention in the standards of parent participation in assessment of teacher competence, other than a general statement requiring parental "participation in the process of making decisions about the nature and operation of the program" (40 Fed. Reg., 1975: 27,570). Parental participation is, however, clearly mandated in the composition of the Head Start Policy Committees (delegate agency) and the Head Start Policy Council (grantee), of which 50% must be parents with Head Start children presently enrolled in the program.

In the case of Head Start, then, regulation in the form of formulated and self-enforcing performance standards filters down from the ultimate statutory source of power, to the government agency, through the grantee to the delegate agency, to the ultimate consumers: children and their families--the persons the regulations are intended to protect. There is an apparent contradiction here, between the official commitment to a "partnership" approach to the formulation of standards, and the dissemination of performance standards from the government agency, following the lines of authority and the delegation of statutory power, to the Head Start program and the consumers of its services. Following the rhetoric of the Economic Opportunity Act and of the Federal Register's description of Head Start aims, it would seem that the concept of teacher competence, seen as central to the quality of the educational component of the Head Start programs, would be interpreted as political in nature. That is, the parents and community representatives would theoretically have the power to decide on the specific goals for the participating children, and the definition of teacher competence would be derived as a means of operationalizing those goals. This approach to determining competence as an alternative to the traditional method of credentialling and to the traditional definition of professionalism was articulated in theory as part of a "movement" arising from the same historical and social milieu which engendered the poverty program of which Head Start was a part: Starting with the assumption that "the bureaucratic system has become para-

lyzed; . . . it is no longer able to respond to the needs of society," Sumner Rosen argued that "power must be redistributed to include those outside the system, insuring a new source of energy as the basis of institutional change" (Riessman, 1970:14-15).

The potential for developing, on a decentralized basis, an alternative method for defining and evaluating Head Start teacher competence typified by a political conceptualization of the teachers' role, is strongly implicit in Head Start policy statements. The administrative agency did apparently fulfill this potential in the form of the CDA credential and credential award system. The same contradiction which characterized the formulation of standards in the process of regulatory administration as applied to Head Start, however, also marks the development and promulgation of the CDA program.

If, as it has been suggested, the statutory basis of teacher competence for Head Start is delegation of powers, and thus is discretionary or political in nature, the important consideration is not whether the statute (or the agency) delegating the power expresses standards, but whether the procedure established for the exercise of the power furnishes adequate safeguards to those who are affected by it.* Davis' use of the word safeguards here refers back to the

* Davis refers here to one of the central theoretical issues in administrative law as it relates to regulatory administration: that of Non-delegation of Powers. The classic example he gives involves the regulation of the rail industry: that is, when the railroads went across the

issue of consumer protection. That is, the procedure of standards formulation should allow for the protection of consumer interests; especially when standards are vaguely worded or totally discretionary, a provision must be made for active consumer input to the process (Melli, 1971; Paulsen, 1968). Head Start does this, at least in theory, although it has become evident that standards (and perhaps a method for credentialling) are promulgated seemingly unilaterally. However, the standards are presented in such a way as to allow for flexible interpretation, consistent with the doctrine of delegation of powers. This fits Binder's classic description of regulatory standards: "The most important elements of (good regulatory standards) . . . is that (they) . . . must be tailored to the needs and realities

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continent, the courts were faced with this problem--were the courts obliged to decide on all the inevitable issues surrounding rail travel --rates, shipping, interstate commerce, trade, freight, passenger safety, equipment safety, zoning, right of way, etc.? Appropriate rules were not in existence. It was up to the legislature to delegate the power to decide on these problems to an administrative agency, presumably with specialized knowledge and skills, and to invest in that agency the power to implement and enforce those decisions. Once this became manifest, the effort was no longer to prohibit delegation, but to prohibit delegation without standards. Provisions were then made for guidelines (standards) to inform the decision making process, but in most cases, such "standards" were vaguely worded: "According to the authority of the Director. . . " or "provided such rules are not in conflict with the constitution," or "proper." This left the field wide open for the exercise of discretionary power. The reason for this was that in most cases it was necessary to delegate powers without meaningful standards. Standards often could not be articulated at the time of delegation for the same reason that rule of law could not be adhered to in executing statutory measures: Decisions in both cases had to be made regarding circumstances which could not be foreseen at the time of the framing of the statute (Davis, 1959:39-50).

of the jurisdictional area" (Binder, 1960:168). This description would tend to support the expectation that the interpretation of Head Start performance standards would vary widely from community to community, as indeed they do; witness Planned (and other) Variations. Whether CDA standards of competence and credential award system are presented in such a way as to allow for similar flexibility is a matter for further investigation.

A discussion of the statutory basis of regulatory administration as applied to Head Start teacher competency developed the conception of teacher competence as essentially political in nature. The next section will attempt to place the concept of teacher competence in historical perspective; the present approach is to view competence as the point of convergence of several contributing factors or developments: the state of the art of research on teaching, circa 1960-65; the Poverty Program, especially New Careers and Compensatory Education (including Head Start); the multitude of effort to develop a new means of defining and assessing preschool teacher competence, circa 1965-1975; Competency-based teacher education; and the Child Development Associate competency standards and credential award system of the Child Development Associate Consortium and the U.S. Office of Child Development.

Competence in an Historical Perspective: Evolution of the Taxonomy of Assumptions about the Nature of Teacher Competence. In the section on "The Nature of Competence" it was postulated that different educators and researchers have historically viewed the nature of teacher competence in different ways. What follows is an attempt to trace briefly the evolution of the taxonomy of primarily political assumptions about the nature of teacher competence, ending with the relatively recent (1971-1972) development of the CDA competence standards and the credential award system.

Studies which conceptualize teacher competence as behavioral, cognitive, or attitudinal constructs, and which examine them in relation to educational outcomes, have been here referred to as Teacher Effectiveness studies. These constructs are acknowledged as the "traditional parameters" of teaching (Stephens, 1967:93). Despite the huge numbers of studies done, documented, and reviewed, by the end of the 1960's it had become manifest that most of these studies yielded only "a vast preponderance of negative results" (Stephens, 1967:71; Rosenshine and Furst, 1971; Smith, 1971; Spodek, 1972, 1973). At the same time as the apparently fruitless investigation and analysis of teaching was proceeding apace, several other developments were brewing, which were to have a considerable effect on the traditional ways of conceptualizing teacher competence.

First, the "Poverty Program," created and funded by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; and second, an element of this program called

New Careers which relates directly to the professional classification and legal-political conceptualizations of teacher competence. Third, the entry of increasing numbers of women into the work force and the concomitant increasing need for child care services. Fourth, the development of a systems approach to teacher training (CBTE) which required a detailed specification of criteria for assessing competent performance according to clearly articulated behavioral objectives.

War on Poverty. An examination of the origins of Head Start in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 reveals a basic confusion in the central philosophy of the law concerning the provision for "maximum feasible participation" of those the law intended to benefit. This confusion may underlie the earlier postulated contradiction in the theory and practice of Head Start standards-formulation. A fascinating study of the sources and implications of the maximum feasible participation phrase (Rubin, 1969) takes the approach of an analysis of the social history of the idea of maximum feasible participation antecedent to its legal reality in the Economic Opportunity Act. Rubin suggests that American foreign policy towards underdeveloped nations after World War II was characterized by a posture of support of the efforts of indigenous leadership to reject colonial domination and to develop community self-help programs. However, the extent to which this U.S. policy was enmeshed with CIA efforts to influence the nature of emergent indigenous leadership in Third World countries is currently a topic of heated debate. Specifically, the community development activities

of newly post-colonial African nations are seen as having provided a model for the American Civil Rights movement. The maximum feasible participation philosophy was already implicit in the movement, which is why grassroots organizations were able to mobilize so quickly in response to the 1964 passage of the Economic Opportunity Act with its highly visible requirement that Community Action Programs be "developed, coordinated, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served" (Rubin, 1969:15). The high visibility of this clause evidently occurred only after the fact. Rubin provides extraordinary documentation to the effect that there is little consensus among those who drafted the antipoverty legislation as to the origins or meaning of the maximum feasible participation phrase. Citations of personal communications with at least five law-makers show complete disagreement among them, in retrospect, as to how and why the phrase was included. For example, Theodore M. Berry assured Rubin that "there is a positive legislative history of the phrase and its related intentions," while Hyman Bookbinder averred that "there is no explicit legislative history covering this particular phrase in the Economic Opportunity Act" (p. 16). Rubin comments: "With no legislative history to serve as a guide, the debate rose quickly to a deafening roar. Did participation mean that poor people would work in the programs, or that they would share the policy-making role? . . . Those who spoke for the poor wanted both" (p. 22). The controversy and shock waves that

were generated after it became clear that this provision would in fact be taken seriously and acted upon by the communities of the poor can be seen in part as an indication of the racism and paternalism of the existing social service systems and in part as a strong backlash against the undeniable reality that the implementation of the participation clause would inevitably involve a redistribution of power.

Significantly, Head Start was not originally planned as the type of Community Action Program consisting of local initiative programs governed by broad federal guidelines allowing for "maximum feasible participation." It was the expectation of Head Start planners that the Head Start programs "could be launched full scale;" that is, would be "pre-packaged" and plunked down fully formed, nationwide, rather than springing up in a responsive way according to the needs of the host communities (Williams and Evans, 1969:19). It should be noted, however, that the issue of "national priority" vs. "local initiative" programs was not totally simplistic. According to a Ford Foundation study, OEO planners realized that national priority programs did violence to the concept of local planning, but rationalized by saying that local communities could suggest alternative approaches. "In reality, however, the communities quickly recognized that Congress and the OEO were 'pushing' certain items and that applications for these programs were likely to receive more expeditious treatment from the agency than projects dreamed up locally" (Levitan, 1969:72). Tom Levin, former director of the Child Development Group of Mississippi, described the early

Head Start as "a semi-autonomous program operating outside of the usual CAP community coalition concept" (Levin, 1967:139). He expanded on the theme of the contradictions inherent in the concept of maximum feasible participation as framed in the statute and as actually expressed in the Head Start experience:

> It is apparent that the original planners did not frame Program Head Start as a /139/ community action endeavor. Project Head Start's emphasis was on jobs for the poor and services to children of the poor with a strong professionalism dominating the program. The program made a significant contribution to the welfare of the poor but perpetuated the donor-donee relationship of established social service concepts. It may very well be that this concept facilitated its wide acceptance by the public, the established educational and social agencies, and state and city governments. However, the price paid to establish this 'quiet front' in the war on poverty was the surrender of an aggressive, community action orientated approach in a program which could have achieved a victory for community action as a viable concept (pp. 139-140). (emphasis added)

Head Start's emphasis on jobs for the poor and the introduction of the issue of professionalism engages another battle cry in the war on poverty; one which is directly related to the development of Head Start competence standards.

New Careers. Professionalism is highly valued in the U.S. An American anthropologist, writing a commentary on the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, indicates that the flip-side of an over-esteem of professional expertise is the tendency to ignore or devalue other sources of information and opinion:

> The thoroughness with which the experts . . . were solicited to participate (in the Conference) reflects credit upon the abilities of the Conference organizers . . . Only one group seems to have remained unsolicited in this search for wisdom, namely, youth itself.
>
> This type of oversight is not uncommon in the traditional American procedures of examining institutions and social problems. Those who are most directly affected by the preparation of a program are the ones most likely to be overlooked in the formulation of policy or of its instrumentation through organization (Kimball, 1963:268).

Ten years later, at the 1970 White House Conference on Children and Youth, the White House Conference Forum on Child Advocates made a statement using a highly politicized vocabulary; this statement showed that although virtually the same situation still existed, awareness of the problem and the implications thereof had begun to surface in the public consciousness:

> Common to all agencies is a lack of accountability to those they serve. The philosophy of the 'white man's burden' and a kind of 'noblesse oblige' still permeates the system. The client is usually the last consulted, if consulted at all, concerning his future (Steinberg, 1973:xiv).

The intervening decade between White House Conferences saw the development of the Civil Rights movement and the War on Poverty, both of which served to give wide currency to this new vocabulary and in these terms to inform public consciousness. A concomitant development was the New Careers concept (Pearl and Riessman, 1965). New Careers was an anti-poverty measure which dovetailed with the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act. It has been suggested that "maximum feasible participation" may be broadly interpreted to imply implementation via a

diversity of forms. "Among the concept's many connotations . . . were creating jobs for the poor; providing services which reduce apathy and alienation; involving the poor in policy formulation; and the ultimate transfer of power to the poor" (Levitan, 1969:68). New Careers addressed all of these connotations of maximum feasible participation, especially, of course, the first. The creation of new jobs through the development of new nonprofessional careers for poor people was the program thrust of the New Careers concept. Of equal importance in this consideration of the New Careers concept as it relates to the development of competence standards for Head Start program staff, is the policy thrust of the New Careers movement away from professionalism and "credentialism." This devaluation of the professional role became a central part of the New Careers philosophy, although it was barely suggested in the first book, New Careers for the Poor (Pearl and Riessman, 1965) in two sentences in the last paragraph of the next-to-last chapter:

> The necessary credentials for employment are determined almost exclusively by the professional. But the 'liberal' does not seem to recognize that by insisting upon 'professionalization' without creating . . . subprofessional roles and nonprofessional entry roles, he is contributing to the forced exclusion of the poor from functioning society (p. 247).

This position, which recognizes that the "credentials" are "necessary" and that their acquisition is governed by professionals, evolved (see above, in Essays on New Careers, Riessman, 1970) into one of questioning, not only the appropriateness of professional domination of a credentialling system, but the very existence of the system itself. Reform

efforts to make the conventional credential or certificate more easily available to people who might have found them impossible to obtain were dismissed as superficial and counterproductive:

> The reformist approach uses a variety of inducements to persuade the credentials guardians to change. But in so doing, it implicitly recognizes and accepts the validity of the credentials themselves as performing the function they are asserted to perform: to provide assurance of competence and the appropriate basis for the organization of professional service. Even when we argue for a 'lowering of the center of gravity' of service delivery--in support of the employment of non-credentialled workers--we accept the basically hierarchic organization of the service system itself, and the place of the professional at its apex.
>
> . . . (Reformism is) not dealing with the validity of the credentialling process itself; rather (it is) enlarging the numbers of professionally credentialled people, providing new routes to established careers. In the process, the assumptions on which professionalism itself rests are not dealt with; if anything, they are implicitly validated, and the survival of the professional conception strengthened by making it more adaptable to contemporary pressures and needs (pp. 14-15).

This disdain for credentialism was based on the assumption that the credential itself in most cases represented the fulfillment of academic degree requirements and/or the passage through a fixed and sometimes arbitrary set of examinations and activities. The New Careers concept sought to gain wide exposure for the fact that credentials attained in this manner do not therefore necessarily represent competence; while at the same time challenging the structure and nature of the system the credentials were seen to represent. These goals of New Careers matched the goals of Head Start, at least in principle. The creation

of new jobs for nonprofessionals with career ladders and staff development to provide the opportunity for advancement is the obvious example. The need to find alternate methods for determining and evaluating competence, along with alternate means for formalizing this process was also a Head Start priority; however, the procedure by which these goals should be accomplished (i.e., the process of standards formulation) and the identification of the participants in this process were, and apparently continue to be, matters approached with some ambiguity and ambivalence.

Demand for Service Creates Need for Regulation. The search was on for new and better ways of identifying and assessing competence. In the case of Early Childhood Education, this search was a determined effort for two reasons. First, in most states, no early childhood education credentialling or certification requirements existed and, along with dissatisfaction with traditional definitions of competence and with traditional methods of assessing and certifying, came the conviction that criteria and methods appropriate to the primary and secondary grades were not appropriate to the needs of preschool programs (Jones et al, 1978:4). Second, the demand for child care during the 1960's showed a marked increase. A 1968 Children's Bureau report, notable otherwise for its dry, statistical, non-inferential tone, said that the number of working mothers had risen with "astonishing rapidity" in the last generation (Low and Spindler, 1968:1). The number of licensed day care facilities in the U.S. tripled during that time and

enrollment in other preschool programs doubled (Jones et al, 1978). U.S. Census data reflects a 12% increase in the numbers of mothers of children aged 0-6 entering the work force between 1960-70. However, these census figures are based on a reporting of married women (husband present) only, so the percentage of increase for all working mothers of preschool children may well have been much higher.

In response to this need, groups consisting for the most part of Early Childhood Education specialists, practitioners, and representatives of government agencies began meeting in Task Forces convened at the local, state and federal levels to attempt to answer such questions as "What is competence, how is it measured, what breadth of competence should be demonstrated, and to what levels" (Rowe,1972: 6-13)? The Task Force on Staff Development of the Massachusetts State Governor's Advisory Council on Child Development began meeting in 1970. In their report, the task force cited examples of proposals for projects and studies of new early childhood training programs taking place from coast to coast (Salem State College to Claremont-Pacific Oaks) (Steinberg, 1973d:9,27). In 1971 the CDA Competencies Task Force met, followed by one convened by the National Association for the Education of Young Children, and soon by many more. The Massachusetts Early Education Project reported in early 1972 that "more than twenty states are seriously studying the possibilities for changing the emphasis in teacher certification from amount of academic preparation to on the job performance and competency" (Rowe,

1972:6-14). This change in emphasis was absolutely central to most thinking about ECE certification and training in Task Force efforts, proposals, and studies of that time, and can be seen as a direct effect of the implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act's "maximum feasible participation" clause, together with the New Careers movement in social services.*

The proliferation of services to accommodate the child care needs of unprecedented numbers of working women is seen as the precipitating factor in the development of new staff certification criteria, especially for early childhood personnel; it also triggered the quest for alternatives to the traditional certification system for validating those criteria. The fact that the new standards were based largely on criteria of demonstrated competence was a radical departure from the practice of using academic measures; thus it was doubly imperative that a new method or system be developed. With the entry of large numbers of mothers into the work force during the 1960's as a precipitating factor, the "maximum feasible participation" provision in the Economic Opportunity Act together with the New Careers concept, determined the direction and political implications of the resultant change in emphasis in the concept of competence.

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* It is significant to note that the sole training of the staff of the Massachusetts Task Force on Staff Development, other than the training which occurred on the job, was the assignment of only one book as "required reading:" Essays on New Careers.

This section attempts to trace the changes in assumptions about the nature of competence as a political concept. The primary changes deal, for the purposes of the present discussion, with process rather than with content. That is, changes in the concept of competence in the decade encompassing the early 1960's to the early 1970's are characterized by:

- movement from professional sources of authority in standards formulation to consumer participation in standards formulation;
- movement from competence validated in academic terms to competence defined in terms of performance criteria, or "demonstrated competence."

One of the means by which these changes were institutionalized was the introduction of a type of teacher training program about which no commentary appeared in the literature before 1969 (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE),1972)--a fact which incidentally supports the notion that these programs were initiated in response to the historical and social events discussed above--Competency-based Teacher Education (CBTE).

Competency-based Teacher Education: An Institutional Response to Changes in the Concept of Competence. "Where did it come from? CBTE . . . did not spring full-blown from the offices of a federal bureaucracy . . . or from the campuses of teacher education." Rosner and Kay (1974:290) may have felt this disclaimer to be neces-

sary because CBTE (and/or Performance-Based Teacher Education--PBTE, which are used interchangeably in the literature), certainly seemed to have sprung full-blown into the awareness of the entire social/human service field. A look at the Indexes of Research in Education from 1967 to the present reveals no listings under the descriptors of CBTE or PBTE, and indeed, no such descriptors at all, until 1972. A similar search by Johnson et al (1974) found that the 1972 Theasaurus of ERIC Descriptors does not include competence, competencies, or competency as descriptors. In 1971 a Bibliography of PBTE appeared under the Performance Criteria descriptor in the RIE Index. In 1972, the descriptor PBTE was introduced, and thereafter publications and documents proliferated exponentially, so that in 1974, which seems to have been the peak year for publications listed in RIE under CBTE and PBTE, only two years after the first citation appeared, nearly 2½ pages in RIE were filled with PBTE listings, with a comparable number on CBTE.

This apparently explosive entry of CBTE into the field, at least as revealed through an RIE search, is deceptive. As several commentators noted, the CBTE concept developed over a number of years (Houston and Howsam, 1972; Rosner and Kay, 1974). The immediate antecedents of the CBTE movement are generally acknowledged to be the nine comprehensive models for preparing elementary teachers developed in the late 60's in response to an RFP from the Bureau of Research in the U.S. Office of Education (Houston and Howsam, 1972; Dickson et al, 1968; Dickson, Saxe et al, 1973) although one thorough scholar traced the

antecedents of the PBTE movement from Socrates and Plato, through Kant and Hegel, to the Comprehensive Elementary Teacher Education Models of 1967 (Saylor, 1976). A discussion of the stated and implicit aims of these models, as deduced from an examination of each report and of the Reader's Guide to the Comprehensive Models, should thus shed light on the nature of the CBTE movement and its relevance for an analysis of the conceptual basis of teacher competence.

All but two of the Comprehensive Elementary Teacher Education reports (University of Massachusetts and University of Michigan) do not explicitly state the conceptual basis of the programs (Allen, 1968; Houston, 1969). Houston and Howsam (1972) indicate that each of the models "relatively independently arrived at an emphasis on competencies" (p. viii); a reading of the program rationale of the reports with a view to discovering the conceptual nature of teacher competence implicit in each, indicates quite clearly that a behavioral conception of competence is the primary orientation, although not the exclusive orientation of the Elementary Teacher Education models (Burden and Lansillotti, 1969).*

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* There is general agreement about the characteristics of CBTE programs. Elam's description, commissioned by the AACTE in 1971, is widely quoted. According to Elam, ". . . these elements are generic, essential elements and only programs that include all fall within the definition of PBTE" (p. 7).

"1. Competencies (knowledge, skills, behaviors) to be demonstrated by the student are
   - derived from explicit conceptions of teacher roles,
   - stated so as to make possible assessment of a student's behavior in relation to specific competencies, and

All the model programs reported that they had adopted, in varying degrees, a systems approach to teacher education, characterized by flexibility in the service of individualization. And not one project report failed to include a discussion of the socio-political implications of the program for the education and the society of the future.

The concurrence of all the Model programs on the essentially political nature of the competency-based model is expressed in a variety of ways both in the program reports and in the large body of literature which accompanied, and followed in the wake of the wild-fire spread of CBTE: First, the social change theme stressed the fact that times are changing and that the traditional forms of schooling are no longer acceptable (Dickson, Saxe et al, 1973; Weber, 1969). More specific variations on this theme refer to the social and legislative changes of the 60's in terms of equal educational opportunity and the public demand for relevance, accountability, and cost-effectiveness in

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. made public in advance;

2. Criteria to be employed in assessing competencies are
   - . based upon, and in harmony with, specified competencies,
   - . explicit in stating expected levels of mastery under specified conditions, and
   - . made public in advance;
3. Assessment of the student's competency
   - . uses his performance as the primary source of evidence,
   - . takes into account evidence of the student's knowledge relevant to planning for, analyzing, interpreting, or evaluating situations or behavior, and
   - . strives for objectivity;
4. The student's rate of progress through the program is determined by demonstrated competency rather than by time or course completion;
5. The instructional program is intended to facilitate the development and evaluation of the student's achievement of competencies specified" (Elam, pp. 6-7).

education (Elam, 1971; Houston and Howsam, 1972; Rosner and Kay, 1974; Saylor, 1976; Schmieder, 1973).

A second theme extends the first along the lines of accountability and parity (Mazon and Arciniega, 1974). CBTE programs typically provide, at least in theory, for participant decision-making in the process of specifying teacher competencies. This is seen as a consequence of the "maximum feasible participation" provision in the EOA and subsequent federal programs. Cooper et al (1973) rhetorically ask "Who should be involved in specifying teacher competencies. . . ?" and answer simply, "Everybody." The list includes " . . . university faculty, public school administrators and teachers, parents and community representatives, professional organization representatives, state department of education representatives, teacher education students, and pupils. All affected personnel should be involved in the conceptualization of the teacher's role and in the specification of the teacher competencies implied by that role" (p. 21).

The next theme is also an outgrowth of the first two. That is, if there is a stated commitment to collaborative or shared decision-making, and if competencies are specified according to a determination of the goals and purposes of the educational program in terms of the influence of that program on the development of the child, then the issue of decision-making on competencies is an issue of power and control-- Who shall decide what is best for the children of the community? Nash and Agne (1971) and Brunetti (1974) explicitly pursue this political element

in their discussion of CBTE:

> All of education, including professional preparation, is intensely political. Education has functions that either conserve, transmit, or reform the existing sociopolitical patterns--no professional training curriculum can ever be value-neutral because, as Sartre has so often said, neutrality is not to act and not to act is to act (Nash and Agne, p. 155).

and

> CBTE . . . (is) intensely political in nature. (It) attempt(s) to make the school more effective and more efficient at doing what it has always done, i.e., feeding young people smoothly into appropriate slots in the economic system (Brunetti, p. 7).
>
> I see CBTE as a movement designed to insure, through its preparation of teachers, that schools will remain essentially as they are today, i.e., serving the same politico-economic functions they always have (p. 3).

Competence as a political concept is an issue of particular significance to educators with special concern for the education of minority cultural groups in the U.S. This significance is manifest in the proliferation of articles and papers by minority group educators concerned with the applications of CBTE to multicultural education programs (Hernandez, 1974; Kalectaca, 1974; Mazon and Arciniega, 1974); Pettigrew, 1973). By and large, CBTE is viewed as a program with promise, but with caution. The promise of CBTE for multicultural education is seen in terms of the potential for broader segments of the communities, theoretically including the consumers of educational services themselves, to participate in defining competence. The "Pygmalion in the classroom" effect so often observed in non-white-non-

middle-class groups, is seen as less likely to occur in CBTE programs:

> Competency-based methods emphasize planning, programming and control with respect to the environmental conditions in which pupils behave and learn. The focus is upon promoting the achievement of educationally relevant behaviors through positive control of the learning environment and its pupil participants. Teacher behaviors, with respect to designing and implementing instructional activities and strategies, are empirically evaluated, that is, tested in terms of the effects they produce . . . (T)he formulation and selection of operational strategies applied in the learning environment are based upon objective scientific analyses of the observed effects of actual pupil behaviors, not on a prejudged opinion.
>
> In the CBTE mode, faulty learning is perceived to be a product of the classroom environment rather than a product of postulated incompetencies and incapacities of a faulty pupil. This construct contrasts with the paradoxical assumption implicit and prevailing in education that the schools cannot educate ethnic minority pupils due to the fixed effects of genetic heritage of early family experience (Pettigrew, 1973:5,6).

The cautions involve the understanding that it is precisely the political nature of CBTE programs which may render them ineffective:

> The principal reasons the CBTE movement has failed to live up to its /10/ early promise is related to: 1) the continuation of old value assumptions; 2) the unwillingness to effect the really major changes in school organization required; and 3) the flat refusal of universities and school districts to substantially collaborate with and meaningfully involve, the community, students, teachers, and teacher organization groups in the business of education (Mazon and Arciniega, 1974:9-10).

The question of whether CBTE is "a prop for the status quo" or a positive reform, or even radical movement reflects the "intensely political" nature of the concept of competence.

It was the aim of this chapter to trace the development of the concept of teacher competence in political terms. Evidence for thus conceptualizing Teacher Competence was presented in two areas: First, the statutory basis for the regulatory system which confirms or validates teacher competency was seen to consist, in the main, of due process safeguards for the rights of consumers to participate in standards formulation. Second, the definition of teacher competence in terms of group consensus on the aims of education and the process of human development was seen as normative, but as potentially unique for each community. In the next chapter, the literature on the Caribbean colonial experience, specifically on education in the Virgin Islands, will be reviewed in order to determine some of the issues involved in the cross-cultural application of educational standards and norms.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Commenting at once on the "satellite" or imitative character of Virgin Islands institutions (Lewis, 1972:146), and on the current expressed concern with the form and substance of education in the Virgin Islands, Norwell Harrigan has remarked that "since 'relevance' has become an overriding American educational concept, like most everything else it has been adopted in the islands" (Harrigan, 1972:72). This call for "relevance," identified in the last chapter as one of the antecedents to the contemporary development of a competency based movement in education, is not, however, something new--it has long been heard in the Caribbean. The succession of study commissions, experts, investigators, and assorted official groups assigned to study the education systems in the Caribbean colonies invariably cited the lack of relevance of the educational objectives, curriculum and organization of the schools to the life experiences of the islanders as a primary problem (Blauch, 1939; Corbin, n.d.; Dalton, 1968; Dickinson, 1929; Gibson, 1976; Kerr, 1952; Reid, 1941; Shorey, 1973; St. Croix Avis, 19 June 1978; Turnbull, 1976; Williams, 1946, 1968). This situation has obtained in general throughout the Caribbean--an oft-repeated example of highly derivative and ill-adapted educational practice pictures tropical islanders singing in their classrooms of "tripping through the snow to grandfather's house on Thanksgiving Day" (Turnbull,

1976:50; Williams, 1968:15)--and specifically in the Virgin Islands, where it has been remarked successively through the years by numerous observers that, for example, the elementary curriculum introduced shortly after the Transfer of the Virgin Islands from Denmark to the United States in 1917 was "based largely" on that of New Mexico, followed by a junior high school course of study taken from the Utah school system (Gibson, 1976; Harrigan, 1972; Reid, 1941; Varlack, 1974; Williams, 1968).

The history and development of educational institutions in the Caribbean and particularly in the U.S. Virgin Islands since Transfer, has been well-documented (Gibson, 1976; Harrigan, 1972; Lawaetz, 1966, 1967, in press; Murphy, 1977; Naughton, 1973; Turnbull, 1976; Varlack, 1974). A review of the literature relevant to this study is divided into the following sections:

- Colonies: Defining Features of the Caribbean Experience;
- Colonies: The Case of the U.S. Virgin Islands;
- Colonial Education;
- Colonial Education: The Case of the U.S. Virgin Islands;
- Colonial Education: The Case of Compensatory Education.

This literature will be considered in the light of the question raised earlier; i.e., whether educational standards or normative conceptions of teacher competency can be effectively applied cross-culturally? This question may be analyzed in terms of three component questions:

- What is a "standard or normative conception of teacher

competency?"

- What is "effectively?"

- What is "cross-culturally?"

Normative Conception of Teacher Competency. A consideration of the basis of a normative conception of teacher competency should follow two streams of analysis: the praxiological, pertaining to the action of teaching, and the theoretical, or ideological, presumably that which forms the framework on which the praxis is based. To assume any relationship between theory and practice is a risky business at best, and to assume a congruent relationship may be gratuitous in the extreme. However, this assumption is routinely made in discussions of teacher competence. It is assumed that the behaviors and skills defined as desirable and necessary for teachers to demonstrate in order to be considered "competent" are in some way related to and/or in fact directly representative or interpretative of the educational goals and objectives of the person or persons who formulated the requirements for teacher competence. A further assumption is that the person or persons who formulated these standards express the prevailing ideology about the goals and purposes of education in the community or society in question.

A normative conception or standard is thus one which is by definition based upon a particular educational ideology, assumed to be held in common by a group of people.

Effectiveness. The adequacy of the "fit" between theory and practice, between ideology or norms and praxis is related to the question of effectiveness, or whether it is possible to effectively transfer normative conceptions cross-culturally. This calls into question the process of implementation; that is, literally the translation of an idea into reality. "Effective" in this sense refers to the question of whether implementation does, or does not, take place, or whether it takes place in a partial or idiosyncratic (unanticipated, unintended) way. In a study of the implementation of Head Start Planned Variation models, Lukas and Wohlleb (1974) identified the process of implementation itself as an area in need of further study, remarking that "the study of the implementation process in an experimental context is important as an issue of external validity where external validity is defined as the extent to which findings can be generalized from one setting to another" (p. 3). The implications for a cross-cultural study of normative as compared with perceived conceptions of teacher competency are clear, and the authors remarked specifically that little is known "about the process of transferring a preschool model from a sponsor's central office to a geographically distant site" (p. 3).* "Implementation" or, in this case, "effective cross-cultural application of norms," is taken to mean that the values or goals implicitly and/or explicitly stated in the program model (in this case, CDA competencies)

* See also Rivlin and Timpane, 1975.

are accepted by the participants at the site under study. If the values of the model or norm are accepted and internalized then presumably those values are the ones which would be elicited through relevant questioning. Thus, one way to determine whether "implementation" has taken place might be to ask participants how they value (rate) behaviors or actions which are known (although not necessarily acknowledged) to represent or reflect the goals and values implicit in the norm. This is the rationale behind the approach used in the empirical part of this study.

Cross-Cultural Study. For the purposes of this study, "cross-cultural" refers to a situation wherein a program model or paradigm which is assumed to embody certain beliefs, values, attitudes and ideas about what constitutes the purpose of education (or the goals or aims of human development) is formulated in one geographical location and applied in another location, where the prevailing beliefs, values, attitudes, and ideas about the goals of human development may differ from those embodied in the program model. It should be noted, however, that cross-cultural situations may occur within geographically circumscribed limits, so that the defining characteristic of a cross-cultural situation is not necessarily geographic separation (Tax, 1946). Differing shared belief systems, values, and attitudes define a situation which can be characterized as cross-cultural.

Colonies: Defining Features of Caribbean Colonial Experience. The Virgin Islands of the United States, and St. Croix in particular as distinct from St. Thomas-St. John, share a social and economic history of colonialism with many other Caribbean areas. This history of common experience has produced a uniquely Caribbean character of social organization, culture and values (Mintz, 1974) which is different from that which is found anywhere in the U.S. mainland but which, at the same time, shares many characteristics with other colonial and post-colonial areas as well as with cultural/ethnic minority groups in the U.S. as elsewhere, which are in a position of colonial status in relation to a mainstream or sovereign culture. This "different yet similar" characterization recurs in most writings about the Caribbean. The "demonstrably parallel historical experiences during more than four centuries of powerful . . . European influence" (Mintz, 1971:18) which make for much commonality and lead to regional generalizations, are seen as part of a dialectic which also includes "cultural variation in the Euro-African settlements of the New World, . . . mainly (as) the result of differences in metropolitan cultures and colonial policy" (Rubin, 1960: 111). The extent to which anthropologists and historians have traditionally viewed local Caribbean similarities and differences more or less strictly as functions of differences and similarities in the quality and kind of colonial interventions has been challenged by Herskovits (1941) and others; most recently and effectively by Wilson's postulation of an alternative and uniquely Caribbean dialectic based upon the prin-

ciples of "respectability" ("the imposed, alien structure of domination premised on inequality and stratification") and "reputation" (an indigenous structure "premised on differentiation and equality") (Wilson, 1973:219).

The tendency to analyze Caribbean history, society and culture in terms of Euro-North American norms and structures seems to have been an occupational hazard in this field. Critics of this stance object to the implied value judgments which characterize West Indian social organization as merely "exotic" to positively "pathological:"

> Is not the obsession of Caribbeanists with the family the outcome of their concern for 'civil' society rather than 'human' society? Their stance is governed by the idea that the form of the Caribbean family is a departure from the civilly sanctioned norm of the nuclear family in their own society. Caribbean society, in other words, has been implicitly viewed by most anthropologists who have worked there as a rather pathetic or exotic imitation of their own society, not as a society evolving in its own terms (Wilson, 1973:217).

> The West Indian family--and the family among rural and ghetto blacks in the United States--is thought of as something not exotic, but as pathologically deviant from some supposed 'norm,' itself characteristic of middle-class Western Europeans. The politicians' focus has been not on how the family functions, but on supposed indices of disorganization (reflecting a sociological orientation which has otherwise enjoyed declining fashion in recent years): high rates of illegitimacy, weak father-child and husband-wife relationships, and the strong position of women in the household (the so-called 'matrifocal,' 'matricentric,' 'matripotestal,' and even 'matriarchal' family (Horowitz, 1971:401).

Mintz attributes such views to "stereotyped thinking, rooted in preconceptions transferred from the dominant tenor of race relations,

culture and the quality of racism in the U.S. itself. It may be some time before any North American visitor . . . gets to recognize Afro-Caribbean cultures on their own terms, rather than in terms of dominant contrasts or similarities with the North American experience" (Mintz, 1974:37). The fact remains that the North American observer is bound to be influenced by first (and powerful) impressions which are immediately apparent to tourist and scholar alike: small size, island-ness (no where to go but "off," "rock fever"), sub-tropical climate (over 68 degrees Fahrenheit year-round) and Blackness. The vast majority of West Indians are of African descent. The impact of this fact on a white North American who is accustomed to being in the racial and/or ethnic majority should not be underestimated. This culture shock, along with the inevitable realization that the North American, "continental," or "yankee," will always be considered as an "outsider" in the West Indian milieu, may help to explain, although not to condone, the prevailing attitude of judgmental "otherness" in much popular and scholarly work on the Caribbean by white North Americans. According to Mintz,

> North Americans often see Caribbean societies as startlingly small in scale, archaic, poor, and poky--sometimes, as rather tawdry imitations of the European master-societies (in the case of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands, of the North American master-society) that forced their creation or perpetuate their past. This misperception has little to do with racism as such; its far wider relevance is the fundamental contrast between the so-called developed and underdeveloped worlds, and our disposition to use so crude a binary division in attempting to make the world interpretable (Mintz, 1974:37).

In the context of these caveats then, and with the understanding that most of the literature on the Caribbean colonial experience available in the United States (with notable exceptions: Beckford, 1972; C.L.R. James, 1963; Manley, 1974, 1976; Eric Williams, 1960, 1968, 1969) is written by white Europeans or North Americans, the defining features of the Caribbean colonial experience may perhaps be explored.

It has been said that the Caribbean displays "the essence of colonialism" (Mason, 1970:274). The essence of colonialism is understood to inhere in the rule of the many by the few. "Nowhere did this happen more completely than in the Caribbean" (p. 274). Caribbean colonial status is more specifically defined by Wilson as the situation wherein the

> . . . supposedly 'core' structure of institutions is, with its attendant ideology of norms and standards, no more than a graft, an imposition on the lives and society of the people. This formal structure in fact has its origin and validity elsewhere than in the Caribbean, specifically in Europe and the United States, and it commands only an uncertain allegiance of convenience within Caribbean society itself. This in turn is chiefly confined to an ambivalent minority led by the elite, the 'mimic men' as V.S. Naipaul pointedly calls them. This formal structure may be taken over, but it is not taken in (Wilson, 1973:6).

By definition then, the colonial experience would be characterized by the fact that the location of power for decision-making about fundamental political, social and economic issues resided outside of the realm of reality for the people affected by the outcome of the decision-making process. Beckford (1972) describes this feature as a persistent element in plantation society, and one which accounts for the persistence of

underdevelopment in plantation economies, most, if not all of which, share colonial histories. Mason's analysis of patterns of dominance in colonial relationships identifies the Caribbean societies as those in which

> . . . the conscious choice of those concerned has played the least part. Their development has been the result of decisions taken elsewhere, or by absentees, or by people whose descendants are no longer in the islands, by a class which no longer exists, and usually for reasons which had little to do with the human populations that might result. This is true of the great landmarks of Caribbean history until the twenty years after the Second World War (Mason, 1970:323).

Harrigan calls this "exogenous decision-making" (Harrigan, 1972:63). Beckford (1972) says this system created a "legacy of dependence" (p. 215) or a "dependency syndrome" (p. 219), and he is not alone in so saying. Bacchus (1969) sees this dependence in part as the result of the psychological conditioning of a colonized people. Mintz relates this dependence to the long history of foreign domination; Harrigan to the economic factors governing the development of the islands. Prime Minister Manley of Jamaica also relates the "insidious" and "intractable" "psychology of dependence" to the fact that "colonial economies were conceived in the context of dependence" (Manley, 1975:12).

This economic component comprises the central definitive feature of the Caribbean colonial experience. From the moment Columbus blundered onto the shores of Hispaniola, the European invaders perceived that their primary mission was necessarily to develop and control large supplies of labor. If a book which painstakingly details 500 years of unremit-

tingly brutal colonial domination can be said to be entertaining, Lesley Simpson's beautifully written Many Mexicos (1971) is a spell-binder. Simpson, with Mintz (1971, 1974), Manners (1960), Williams (1946), and others, recognizes that the profit motive was the raison d'être for the entire history of colonial expansion and rule:

> In Espanola in the time of Columbus the matter was settled summarily by recourse to a proposition which may be somewhat /108/ baldly stated as follows: 'Is it not just to make the heathen work for us in exchange for the ineffable gifts of Christianity and the profit system?' Lest this proposition shock the reader, it should be added that one of the most persistent criticisms directed for centuries against the Indians was that they had no sense of values. They would not work for wages like Christians, and they exchanged things of great price for things of little value. Their inferiority was manifest. All of which, of course, strikes us as the flimsiest sort of rationalization, but it served. Work had to be done in any case, and Columbus and his successors ground the helpless islanders in a deadly round of unceasing toil (Simpson, 1971:108-109).

The Indian populations were decimated with extraordinary rapidity, and African slaves were imported to carry on their labors.

> Slaves were not primarily a source of prestige, or sexual gratification, of the satisfaction of sadistic impulses, or of anything else but profit - and of profit within a frankly capitalistic system, even though the curious view that slavery and capitalism are mutually exclusive still persists. The slaves of the Caribbean, like those of the American South and Brazil, were used for the creation of wealth in enterprises intimately related to world trade (Mintz, 1974:47).

The principal mode of implementation of slavery for economic purposes was the plantation system (Goveia, 1965; Manley, 1975; Manners, 1960; Mintz, 1971, 1974; Rubin, 1960; Wilson, 1973), and monocrop cultivation

was the principal mode of agriculture in the plantation system (Wagley, 1969). In the view of Rubin, it is the "structure of plantation society which accounts for striking regularities in social organization" in the West Indies (Rubin, 1960:112). Mintz expands on this by adding that the

> . . . parallel social histories of the Caribbean islands have produced numerous similarities among the . . . peoples who inhabit them today. These similarities originated in good measure from a common history of slavery and forced labor, the domination of the plantation system, and the narrow range of economic alternatives available to those who resisted that system by developing life-styles outside it (Mintz, 1974:225).

Mintz returns often to the issue of the significance of similarities and differences in the subcultures of the Caribbean region:

> First, economic, ecological, or demographic similarities and differences unite or divide different rural populations in the same society. Second, there are similarities, either within one society or between comparable peasant sectors in two or more societies, that are traceable to a common cultural heritage predating slavery, as in the case of important features of African origin, including lexicon, cuisine, religion, language, folklore, and music. Third, there are commonali /229/ ties that may be traced to the experience of slavery itself, as well as to the parallel impact of European domination - as in the case of the common use of Spanish in both Cuba and Puerto Rico, or the parallel proto-peasant adaptation in both Jamaica and Haiti. Finally, there are similarities and differences arising from the conditions of life following the slavery epoch and intermingled with the influences cited in the first point (Mintz, 1974:229-230).

What were the differences and similarities? The litany of horrors which comprised the experience of plantation slavery need not be repeated

here. Insofar as it may be possible to qualify the different forms of slavery which prevailed in different parts of the "plantation culture sphere" (Wagley, 1960:3-13), it has been suggested that the conditions of slavery in the Caribbean were harsher than in the Southern United States:

> There was more absentee ownership in the West Indies and estate proprietors and managers looked for quick profits and an early return to the mother country. In general, the Europeans who came out to the West Indies were more volatile and shiftless than those who /36/ migrated to the mainland colonies, and the violence of life was enhanced by the recurring wars and endemic piracy. The smaller proportion of whites to Negroes made the danger of slave insurrections greater and the punishment for revolts and disobedience more drastic. Slaves multiplied much less rapidly in the West Indies, necessitating greater dependence on the slave trade and the new arrivals from Africa were apt to be less tractable than Negroes born to slavery. Because of the fear of rebellion, community life was greatly limited. Social and religious gatherings were discouraged and singing, dancing, and drum beating strictly forbidden (Weinstein, 1962:36-37).

The legacy of this experience has been catalogued extensively, and includes the persistent underdevelopment which still characterized much of the region (Beckford, 1972; Mintz, 1971, 1974) along with indiscriminate, destructive and wasteful over-development, still for the benefit of foreign ownership which continues the process of alienation of West Indian land from West Indian people (Girvan, 1968; Lewis, 1972; O'Neill, 1972; Wilson, 1973). A highly stratified and rigid social structure coexists with a highly egalitarian "informal" network (Beckford, 1972; Green, 1972; Wilson, 1973). Heterogeneity--"Caribbean

history is not only black history, but also yellow history, red history, brown history, and--not surprisingly--white history so far as the testament of oppression is concerned" (Mintz, 1974:49)--and insularity, typified by "small island pride" (Lewis, 1972), independence and island identity (Goveia, 1965; Wilson, 1973); "weak community cohesion" (Wagley, 1960); cultural displacement of both colonizer and colonized (Manley, 1975); missionary activity in education (Goveia, 1965; Lawaetz, in press; Manners, 1960; Murphy, 1977; Neill, 1966); and heavy reliance on importation of virtually everything in a trade economy (Manley, 1975), all in the context of the inescapable geopolitical fact: the presence of North American power:

> One can, indeed, one must, discuss Caribbean political life in terms of the internal character of Caribbean societies; but one may not do so as if the U.S. did not exist, or as if it existed on the other side of the world (Mintz, 1974:253).

To summarize then, and to begin to examine the extent to which these features obtain in the Virgin Islands of the United States, it is useful to look at Norwell Harrigan's very inclusive typology, developed to describe the characteristics of the "Raran" (from the Yoruba, for "dwarf") society, and derived in particular from the characteristics of Virgin Islands society, Harrigan's "micro-state."

Colonies: The Case of the U.S. Virgin Islands. Harrigan (1972) identifies four characteristics of the Raran society which emerge from the interaction of ecological, socio-economic, and psycho-cultural factors:

> 1) Psychological Malaise: . . . developed as a result of the historical evolution of Virgin Islands society. Established as a business to produce sugar for export, dominated by the institutions of slavery in which Africans were dragged from, and eventually lost, their native cultures, a society emerged after 175 years, populated largely by a people who had been made non-entities by the social, economic, and political systems; divided by race, color, religion and culture, and jealous and distrustful of each other. With /59/ little or no part in economic affairs, they had no choice about production or consumption, no judgment about quality, and, accepting what was given them, they developed peculiar behavioral patterns. They had no responsibility for public affairs . . . They accepted a whole range of false values about themselves and the world because it made survival possible. With the phenomenal economic growth brought about by tourism it appeared as if their problems were solved. But this had other unanticipated effects. People began to take stock of the situation and thus increased social tensions and conflict over their perception of themselves and of each other. They became a 'sick' people in search of an 'identity' and 'a piece of the action.' Their leaders became afraid even to discuss objectively the real issues in the society for fear that 'foreign' investors and tourists would be driven away (pp. 59-60);

2) Macro-State Emulation Syndrome: developed from the historical tendency to look outward, to Denmark or to the United States for models (pp. 60-62);

> 3) Exogenous Decision-Making: This characteristic is related to the previous two. Historically the center of decision-making has been Copenhagen or Washington or New York. The decisions affect the life of every man, woman

> and child and they can do nothing about them. Other crucial decisions are made by international corporations and expatriate groups which control key sectors of the economy. Both of these kinds of decisions have a tremendous effect on those that can be taken locally, often because local decision-makers fear that if links with the metropolitan country are weakened or the economic and financial control by outsiders threatened, economic growth will be slowed down. The decision-makers and the masses appear too often to be on different 'wavelengths' (p. 63);
>
> 4) Micro-state Reality Imperception: (is) . . . based upon the assumption that Raran societies . . . continue to accept the macro-states' present dedication to growth and 'progress' and will not eventually recognize that there is a limit to everything (p. 63).

The parallels are clear enough; the Virgin Islands were certainly "shaped by the same concatenation of massive forces that shaped the Caribbean area as a whole--conquest and colonization, European commercial and military activity, sugar capitalism, slavery, and the abolitionist movement that slavery provoked" (Lewis, 1972:3). The theme of dependence pervades the literature on the Virgin Islands--dependence is seen to have been "grossly aggravated in the Virgins' case" with American values and goals the model (p. 338). In the case of the Virgin Islands, as noted in the case of the Caribbean area generally, this dependence is linked to the fact that "all the instruments of U.S. power that have it in their hands to make decisions that can mean, almost literally, life or death to broad areas of the local economy . . . are insulated from local control because of the colonial status of the territory" (p. 146). (emphasis added)

There are, however, elements of this colonial status which begin to differentiate the Virgin Islands from other West Indian island-nations, within the context of the "common geography and their experience of a ruthlessly exploitive colonial past" (Green, 1972:113). First, when the U.S. bought the Danish West Indian islands in 1917, it was for military strategic purposes--to protect Panama Canal access from German naval force. Military motives were certainly congruent with the colonial tradition in the area. It was the purchase of the islands which conferred upon Virgin Islanders the status of a purchased people (Green, 1972); this was particularly humiliating, especially considering the fact that there surely were spectators at that Transfer Day ceremony in 1917 who had been born into slavery (Danish West Indian Emancipation took place in 1848). Danish paternalism and benign neglect was replaced by American racism and indifferent neglect. Apparently realizing that there was small chance to turn a profit in the islands, the American naval administration in the early years after Transfer was not concerned with the local welfare or economic development (Creque, 1968; Hill, 1971). A thesis on the economic value of the Virgin Islands in 1938 cold-bloodedly concluded that

> . . . the Virgin Islands of the United States are liabilities rather than assets to the Mother Country. Here, location has been an important factor. Since the United States desired a naval base in the northeastern part of the Caribbean the islands were purchased from Denmark. The raw materials produced by the islands are not valuable enough to make that an excuse for their maintenance by the United States.

> The islands act in a small way as a market for manufactured goods, but in view of the entire world market of the United States, the purchases by this small group are almost negligible. The use of the islands as places to which a surplus population might be sent is not even considered as a reason for their maintenance. The United States spends much money each year for their upkeep and, as far as it is possible to determine from the statistics examined, very little, if any, is returned to the United States; rather the islands serve as a good place to spend Federal funds without hopes of such funds being returned in any form whatsoever (Chisholm, 1938:3).

This finding was in agreement with the official American attitude towards the U.S. Virgin Islands. This attitude had been bluntly and shockingly expressed by President Herbert Hoover who, on a visit to the Virgin Islands in 1931, pronounced the islands "an effective poorhouse" and stated that "it was unfortunate that we ever acquired these islands" (Murphy, 1977:131).

Second, it is often remarked that Virgin Islanders have a sense of uniqueness--a sense of pride in place so marked that, for example, the distinctive Virgin Islands cross-breed mongrel dogs are called "Cruzan dogs" in St. Croix while the same "mutts" in St. Thomas are merely "island dogs"--a fact noted by St. Thomians as a proof of Cruzan ethnocentrism. This differentiation in itself is seen as a Virgin Islands character trait which "does not prove their singularity so much as indicate how much they belong to the general West Indian culture pattern" (Lewis, 1972:19). This expression of "insular chauvinism" or "small island pride" is confirmed by Lamming's discovery that

> No Barbadian, no Trinidadian, no St. Lucian, no islander from the West Indies sees himself as a West Indian until he encounters another islander in foreign territory. It was only when the Barbadian childhood corresponded with the Grenadian or the Guianese childhood in important details of folklore that the wider identification was arrived at (Lamming, 1960:214).

This theme of difference within similarities within differences also pervades the literature. For instance, Lewis (1972) characterizes three generic factors as having helped to shape Virgin Islands life and society: "European Protestant colonization /8/, a more or less undiluted spirit of capitalist enterprise and economic and social openness, as contrasted to other, hermetic West Indian societies" (pp. 8-9). This openness refers to the cosmopolitan nature of the freeport as a great trading center in the heyday of the Danish West India Company. But it refers primarily to St. Thomas, as St. Croix had always been more agricultural and St. Thomas more mercantile. Furthermore, Williams, Mintz, Wilson, Green, as well as Lewis himself, comment on the "rigid social class barriers inherited from the Danish tradition" (p. 153). Social openness or rigid social barriers? The words "dichotomy," "schizoid," "contradiction," "dialectic," recur throughout the literature on the Virgin Islands (Green, 1972; Harrigan, 1972; Lewis, 1972). Lewis associates contradictions directly with the fact of the American presence: he contrasts "the temptation to seek psychological compensation for the Americanizing pressure, at times so unbearable, in a romantic nostalgia for the Danish past" with "a readiness to enjoy, without asking too many awkward questions, the economic benefits that flow from the American re-

lationship" (pp. 19-20). Specifically,

> In terms of socio-cultural attitudes . . . the American presence has helped to create a schizoid situation. The native wonders why the American resident has left a prosperous continental economy for an underdeveloped Caribbean island economy; the continental wonders why the native ever wants to leave his paradise. The one wants to modernize his community; the other wants to retain its 'old world charm.' The one seeks to escape the burden of the colonial society; the other seeks to escape the burden of the Roman decadence of the metropolitan imperial society . . . The psychological sickness all this exhibits, on both sides, can perhaps be ended only when the metropolitan-colonial relationship which originally spawned it is ended (p. 198).

Green, on the other hand, associates the existence of contradictions with an indigenous dialectic, following Wilson, composed of the opposing values in a colonial society of the Caribbean: "respectability," representing "values approved by the formal institutions . . . associated with the home and childrearing and . . . overtly associated with church, school, and governmental agencies;" versus "reputation," typified by the male social networks of peers outside of the pale of "respectability" (Green, 1972:11).

Once aware of this dialectic, it seems to pervade all aspects of island life as well as the literature. For example, contrast the rosy optimism of Virgin Islands historians Creque--"Virgin Islanders everywhere are happy and proud to be citizens of the greatest democracy on earth" (1968:264)--and Hill--"Virgin Islanders are proud of their American citizenship and association with the United States of America, which can be considered the foster-mother of the world" (1967:171)--with

O'Neill (1972), Moorhead (1973), Harrigan (1972) and Lewis (1972) who warn against the insidious nature of "the spirit of American cultural imperialism" (Lewis, 1972:261), "parasitical tourism" (p. 129) and the "runaway development (that) . . . has fouled the harbors, ruined the beaches, eroded the hillsides, created slums, and generally turned the place into a textbook example of environmental despoilation" (O'Neill, 1972:174).

St. Croix and the Virgin Islands then, share many of the defining features of the Plantation Culture Sphere which encompasses the Caribbean and parts of Brazil and the American South (Wagley, 1960). These features include slavery and the plantation system, monocrop (sugar) cultivation, multiracial societies, similar food crops, cuisine, music, dance, folklore, and religion. These features also distinguish St. Croix and the Virgin Islands from the other American culture spheres (Euro-American and Indo-American). The extent and manner in which shared belief systems, values and attitudes also distinguish St. Croix and the Virgin Islands from the Euro-American culture sphere will be explored in the next sections on Education in Colonies and Education in the Virgin Islands.

Colonial Education. Not surprisingly, the issue of dependence--one of the defining characteristics of colonial status--figures prominently in discussions of education in colonial societies. The Journal of Negro Education in 1946 devoted an issue to discussions of the special problems of education in "dependent" countries, discussions in which W.E.B. DuBois, Margaret Mead, and Eric Williams took part. Education is typically seen as a means by which the dependency relationship between the colony and the metropole could be maintained and strengthened or, conversely, the means by which decolonization might proceed (Bacchus, 1969). A characteristic of education in dependent countries is that "standards of excellence, the accepted desiderata in Caribbean communities, related to those existing in the metropolitan country instead of being rooted in the Caribbean communities themselves" (Shorey, 1973:2). The importation of education standards, along with everything else in the way of values and consumer goods, is poignantly documented by Eric Williams' autobiographical account of his own West Indian education: "What the school disparaged, the society despised. The island scholar . . . regarded himself and was regarded as 'a superior soul' . . . The superiority consisted in the public eye precisely of the British culture and the disparagement of the West Indian" (Williams, 1969:35). It was inevitably characteristic of such a system that the business of formal education would bear a remote, if any, relationship to the life experience of the students. The literature is replete with examples of the grotesqueries of this situation: islanders singing about "tripping

through the snow to grandfather's house on Thanksgiving Day" (p. 15); "children laboriously copying robins and holly leaves on Christmas cards, or painting snow scenes on gourds, or learning feather stitching in blue cotton on pink flannelette rompers" (Read, 1955:76); a student complaining "that one of the subjects in her examination was the botany of the primrose, including drawings of dissections of it. She had, of course never seen a primrose as she had not been out of Jamaica" (Kerr, 1963:80); and endless other instances of children studying wheat rather than sugar cane, willows rather than flamboyants, the oak rather than the mahogany, the daffodil instead of the hibiscus, and so on (Bacchus, 1969; Shorey, 1973; Varlack, 1974).

Those who would place their hope in the educational process to change this state of affairs seem painfully aware of the internal contradictions involved. Educational institutions are recognized as "reactionary" as opposed to "progressive" forces (Curle, 1964:33), as conservers of the status quo (Bacchus, 1969; Chai, 1968), as means of "integrating the individual with his society and not making him superior to it" (Foster, 1965:164). Historically in the Caribbean, the "impulse for education came during the period of emancipation" when the social goals of the educators were to safely transform ex-slaves into citizens, with the emphasis on civic duty, humility, and obedience (Bacchus, 1969: 67). These goals may have long since become dysfunctional but as lately as 1973, Shorey scored the system's anachronistic authoritarian orientation (Shorey, 1973). DuBois expressed his insight into the

nature of colonial education in terms of the

> . . . contradiction which arose and had to arise in Europe with regard to the whole situation. Poverty and extreme poverty in colonies was a main cause of wealth and luxury in Europe. The results of this poverty were disease, ignorance and crime. Yet these had to be represented as natural characteristics of backward peoples. Education for colonial peoples must inevitably mean unrest and revolt; education, therefore, had to be limited and used to inculcate obedience and servility lest the whole colonial system be overthrown (DuBois, 1946:318).

Missionary activities provided the earliest form of education for slaves in the West Indies; missionary education continued past emancipation and continues today. Some commentators see missionary education as an effort to keep the slaves docile, to protect secular (business) interests, and to "make over native people on to the European pattern" (Embree, 1934:221).* Others credit missionaries with introducing the first and only viable form of social organization to slaves and with treating slaves like human beings. This is particularly held to be true of the early Moravians in the Danish West Indies and British islands (Lawaetz, in press; Murphy, 1977).

West Indian scholars struggling to delineate the role of education in the process of decolonization (Bacchus, 1969) or to come to terms with the "problem (of) whether ideas /ix/ developed in one kind of environment can be transferred whole to a different kind of society" (Curtin, 1955:ix-x), seem compelled, whatever their political position, to address the "Marxist view which sees this as an impossible task for

* See also Corbin, n.d.; Goveia, 1965:274; Pearson, 1969:1465

education" (Bacchus, 1969:64). The basic idea is that Marx regarded educational institutions and ideas as an outgrowth of the relationship between classes and within classes to the mode of production. Thus, education could not, from a Marxist perspective, aid in the process of decolonization without a concurrent change in the economic and class structure of the colonial society (Bacchus, 1964). Furthermore, one would expect that ideas formulated in one society would not be accepted in another if the mode of production and class relationships were not substantially the same. Curtin would "dismiss the Marxist claim that the ideas of any society grow only from the relations of classes and the mode of production" on the basis of the fact that English ideas were "perhaps too readily" accepted in Jamaica (Curtin, 1955:205). This reasoning appears somewhat simplistic, however, viewed in light of Williams' analysis of education in the British West Indies:

> Secondary education in these colonial areas is mainly education for the intelligentsia . . . The intelligentsia are not interested in rural education. They are specifically concerned with the culture and social graces of the representatives of the metropolitan power who are responsible for their sources of revenue. Owing to the absence of political influence of the rural masses, never very strong in any country but particularly weak /11/ in colonial countries, the intelligentsia are deprived of that pressure which would counteract the enormous influence - economic, social, political and cultural - of the metropolitan country. The imperialist power also needs local representatives to assist it in the administration of the country. Hence the education given is naturally based on this need. The local intelligentsia, in other words, merely reflect and fortify the attitude to the colonial

> masses of absentee capital.
>
> The result is the creation, first, of a vested interest in the colonies in favour of the alien system because of the opportunities it offers to a few educated colonials . . . (Williams, 1968:11-12).

DuBois' criticism of the work of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in Africa was based on this same understanding--that "any attempt to provide a useful (i.e. agricultural-technical-vocational) education for the African could only be interpreted as an attempt to keep him in permanent subservience to a European economic and political elite" (Foster, 1965:163). Foster discusses the "economic, political and social consequences of a process of transfer of formal educational institutions from the metropole to colonial dependencies" in terms of the "minimal changes in structure but maximal shifts in social function" which characterized the transfer of educational institutions from England to Ghana. "Minimal changes in structure" meant that the curriculum and administrative processes were basically European; curriculum was the aspect of "dysfunction" the Phelps-Stokes Commission latched on to, responding with curricular proposals for more "relevance" in the schools. "Maximal shifts in social function" meant that the

> . . . most significant latent function of Western formal education was to foster nascent conceptions of social status which diverged from the traditional model . . . (E)mergent conceptions of social status were partially the result of reference group characteristics of the European minority itself in that it provided models for status acquisition based on education and occupation.
>
> . . . For the colonial power the problem of the 'content of education' was important, but the African

> was seeking 'educational parity' with the elite (Foster, 1965:8).

The reasoning of the Phelps-Stokes Commission went like this: since the basis of the African economy was agricultural, schools should train students for agricultural-technical-vocational-type work; i.e., should make the curriculum relevant to the life experience of the students. This, however,

> . . . was precisely the kind of education that the African did not want from the schools. It combined inferior economic opportunities with the notion of tying the bulk of educated Africans to the land -- or, it was assumed that this kind of education would have that consequence. There was little or no recognition of the aspiration of Africans so far as education was concerned, nor was the critical role of schooling in the process of mobility discussed sympathetically or dispassionately.
>
> Although these reports have been frequently seen as extraordinarily 'progressive' documents they were basically reactionary in their implications (Phelps-Stokes reports). To have carried their proposals into effect in the economic sphere would have deprived all but a tiny minority of Africans of the opportunity for effective social advancement in the colonial milieu and the opportunity to achieve social and educational parity with the colonial elite (Foster, 1965:162).

According to Foster, the basic weakness in this reasoning lies in "presupposing the primacy of curricular problem." "Underlying this whole approach was the notion that the function of formal education was primarily one of simple cultural transmission with the aim of integrating the individual with his society and not making him superior to it" (conserving the status quo). But in Ghana, as in the Caribbean,

schools were an alien institution

> . . . irrespective of what they taught. Rather than being an instrument of social consensus they were bound to become instruments of social differentiation. It was because of this, and not because of the curricular shortcomings of the schools, that the major dysfunctionalities which were attributable to Western education came (p. 164).

In light of Foster's assertion that, in an analysis of institutional dysfunction, curricular issues are secondary to the consideration of the social function of schooling in relation to traditional norms, a review of the literature on West Indian education reveals in fact a paramount concern with curricular reform coupled with an emphasis on what Bacchus calls the "instrumental" aspects of educational policy: buildings, equipment, numbers of teachers, expenditures, etc. (Bacchus, 1969).

Colonial Education: The Case of the U.S. Virgin Islands. Turning to the literature on education in the Virgin Islands, a similar preoccupation with instrumental goals prevails. Reports and articles on education in the Virgin Islands tend to be catalogs of statistics on the literacy rate, increases in the numbers of schools, teachers, expenditures, equipment, students and all the other ingredients of education from Danish times to the present (Blauch, 1939; Chamberlain, 1933; Cook, 1935; Dejnozka, 1972; Jarvis, 1929; Lindborg, 1932).

There are three main themes running through the literature on education in the Virgin Islands. The first, as indicated above, deals with the instrumental aspects of education. These statistical-descriptive reports and articles began, soon after Transfer in 1917, to chronicle the progress of educational Americanization in quantitative terms. There is no doubt, from reading these documents, that the American administration did materially improve educational, as well as economic and public health conditions in the Virgin Islands. Murphy's interview with native Virgin Islanders who were in the school system as students or teachers at the time of Transfer demonstrates that these changes were most welcome, but that the attitudinal baggage the Americans brought with them, particularly secularization of the schools and racism, was not (Murphy, 1977).

Second, the socio-political emphasis also occurs in much of the primarily descriptive material; in this regard it should be noted

that the three thematic elements found in the literature on Virgin Islands education are not mutually exclusive. The socio-political theme was expressed in 1929 in the Report of the Educational Survey of the Virgin Islands by a Hampton-Tuskegee team, and repeatedly thereafter (Reid, 1941; N.Y.U. Comprehensive Survey, 1963). The concern is that there was/is not sufficient opportunity for members of the local communities to participate in educational decision-making. A specific recommendation of the 1929 survey was that "the people should participate in and be partly responsible for their own educational systems." The Report decried the fact that one of the earliest acts of the American government in the Virgin Islands was to abolish the self-governing Education Commission in which the people had been able, under Danish rule, to take part. The result was that there was then "no body in which local representatives may meet representatives of the Government to discuss educational proposals in advance of action" (Dickinson, 1929:9).

The third theme, and the one which is most frequently discussed in recent years, relates to the issue of <u>cultural adaptation</u>. This is the body of literature in which the need for curricular reform is expressed and which raises the question: "Can a First World educational policy and curriculum . . . adequately meet the needs of a Third World society?" (Murphy, 1977:162). This question is voiced again and again (Corbin, 1975; Harrigan, 1972; Lewis, 1972; Turnbull, 1976; Varlack, 1974). The answer is "no"--given the two as-

sumptions that since the core values of the education system spring from the core values of the culture and that since societies differ, no one form of education is "universally appropriate" (Varlack, 1974:136). This negative response provides the impetus for numerous proposed plans and strategies to adapt the educational curriculum by incorporating indigenous materials to make it more responsive to the needs of the Virgin Islands culture.

This approach to improving a dysfunctional education system appears particularly prevalent now, since discontinuities between the education system and traditional social and family values are seen to result in anomie or social disorganization. Varlack points to the "social confusion which seems to exist in the islands" (Varlack, 1974: 135); Harrigan to the "psychological malaise" described earlier; Murphy (1977) postulates "socially structured strain" arising from "tension or malintegration between the culture goals of Continental teachers and the institutionalized means of West Indian society" and points to the public reaction of panic to the Fountain Valley murders of 1972 as an example (pp. 159-160). Lewis (1972) speaks of a "tragic deculturation" of an "island identity that the Virgin Islands child and parents seem pathetically to lack" (p. 281).

Two contemporary Virgin Islands educators, working from a cultural adaptation approach, have proposed a set of characteristics which classify the Virgin Islands as a small, "developing" society in

scene (with) . . . no effort made to modify curricular content in the light of African experience" (p. 156). A concomitant assumption was that "dysfunctionalities created by Western education . . . resulted from the wholesale and unthinking transfer of Western educational institutions from the metropole. In consequence the Commission advised 'the adaptation of education to the needs of the people'" (p. 158). The Commission's first step in this process of cultural adaptation was to "undertake a careful sociological investigation of African conditions and upon the basis of this develop a series of specific recommendations on the desired shape of future African education" (p. 158). In these remarks, read "Virgin Islands" for "Africa" and the parallels to the Harrigan-Varlack approach are evident.

Harrigan undertook a careful, in-depth investigation of conditions in the Virgin Islands, on the basis of which Varlack developed a strategy for curriculum reform. The assumption of the need for a curriculum based upon the realities of everyday life presented in a meaningful cultural context is central to the cultural adaptation approach. But the Phelps-Stokes Commission, and explicitly, Harrigan-Varlack's Virgin Islands model assumed further that "through curricular modifications some sort of 'consensus' could be created between the school and society and that processes of social change could thus proceed smoothly and without disruption . . ." (Foster, 1965:164). Foster's criticism of these assumptions that curriculum

terms of ecological, socio-economic, psycho-cultural, and evolutionary factors (Harrigan, 1972), and based on this analytic typology, have designed a strategy to "bring the curriculum in line with social and psychological realities" of the Virgin Islands (Varlack, 1974:35). Harrigan's construct "educational mimesis" is presented to describe education in the Virgin Islands as "a poor carbon copy of the system on which it was patterned, in giving each new generation an orientation toward a metropolitan rather than a local environment . . . (with) the effect of indiscriminate acceptance of form and content developed for a quite different situation" (Harrigan, 1972:78-79).

These are pioneering efforts for the Virgin Islands; but the notion of cultural adaptation of educational institutions as an ameliorative response to social turbulence is not new. The Harrigan-Varlack analyses of education in the Virgin Islands address the same problem, using the same approach, as did the Phelps-Stokes Commission in Africa in the 1920's. The Phelps-Stokes Commission was authorized by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, acting on a proposal by the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society to undertake a "survey of educational conditions and opportunities among the Negroes of Africa, with a special view of finding the type or types of education best adapted to meet the needs of the Natives . . ." (Foster, 1965:156). The problem was identified in terms of western educational institutions having been "transferred without reflection to the African

is a prescription for cure of social ills is that curricular reform changes the content of the educational process (for example, by providing more agricultural emphasis in the African curriculum, or by talking about palm trees or tourism in the Virgin Islands, to make the process more culturally relevant), without addressing the structural characteristics of the education system. The result, in the case of Ghana, was to "reproduce a pattern of administration that apparently had been successful in England" (p. 104). The cultural-adaptation-through-curriculum-reform-approach for the Virgin Islands, grounded though it is in Harrigan's keen analysis of Virgin Islands society and culture, does not begin to question the way in which the system is set up, or whether it might not be this way which contributes to the dysfunctionalities which have been so painfully apparent to all observers. Varlack makes this acceptance quite clear when she says that there is a need for Virgin Islands curriculum personnel "to plan curricula for a Virgin Islands milieu within the context of the American philosophy of education" (Varlack, 1974:127). (Emphasis added).

The Ghanaian experience is not exactly the same as the Virgin Islands experience. In Ghana there was an ancient and continuous tradition into which European educational norms were introduced. There are important parallels though, especially as regards the social function, over and above the content, of schooling. DuBois was critical of the work of the Phelps-Stokes Commission because he

was conscious of the status implications of schooling, which the Commission did not address (Foster, 1965:163). In the case of the Virgin Islands, this consciousness dictates an awareness of the role school plays in Virgin Islands society. The express purpose of schools in the Virgin Islands since 1917 was to facilitate the process of Americanization. Americanization for whom? For the counterparts of the same population towards whom education is directed in America--for the "native elite:"

> . . . (T)he culture of the native elite within Caribbean societies is a creolized version of European values and behaviors, epitomized by a European conception of Christian morality. On St. Croix the Euro- West Indian creole culture of the upper classes has given way to the Euro-American creolized culture. Most of the Crucian elite, the younger ones at least, have been educated in the U.S. and exposed to American values and life styles. And local schools, staffed first by Europeans, then by native elite, and now also by imported Continental teachers, are a bastion for the values and behaviors of the upper classes. But traditionally, only a few natives have passed through the /57/ educational system to completion, a fact which has served effectively to restrict the ranks of the upper class (Gibson, 1976:57-58). (Emphasis added).

According to Wilson (1973), schools in the Caribbean function to perpetuate the neo-colonial values of a society based on "respectability" and class. He suggests an alternative foundation for education, based on "reputation" as a more authentic Caribbean and egalitarian value system which might be developed into a philosophy and a socially integrated "educational environment" (Wilson, 1973:231-232). In Wilson's analysis, two predominant values typify Caribbean society

and these two are caught in a dialectic which is characteristically West Indian: the values are "reputation" and "respectability." As indicated above, respectability represents church, school, government, bureaucracy--all the instiutionalized baggage of the Euro-American colonial past. "Respectability holds a society together around a stratified class structure with standards of moral worth and judgment emanating from the upper class or from overseas and imposed on the lower strata" (p. 229). Respectability, with its foreign referents and racial basis, "is the moral force behind the coercive power of colonialism and neo-colonialism" (p. 233).

"Reputation" refers to a "standard of value, of moral measurement of a person's worth derived from his conduct with other people . . . that comes out of involvement with the world of relationships rather than the individualistic standards of respectability" (p. 227). Green's study of social networks in St. Croix--a sort of Cruzan Streetcorner Society--confirms Wilson's formulation:

> For the masses of West Indians, relatively few institutionally recognized statuses are available. Most formal statuses derive from the colonial heritage of West Indian societies --statuses connected with government bureaucracy, churches, and schools. Indigenous (i.e. non-colonial) sources of formal status are relatively few, having often to do with participation in religious sects or involvement in herbalist and other esoteric lore. These limitations on the formal sources of status are true of both men and women, although it is more marked among men since occupation, especially among the lower class, has relatively little to do with one's status or the status of one's family. Individuals seek therefore, re-

> cognition and reputation based on a 'cumulation of worth and an assemblage of signs of that worth' (Wilson/123/1969:74). There are two aspects of this 'assemblage of signs' of personal worth, one's attachment to others in networks of various sorts ('peer' groups) and the ideology of that attachment (Green, 1972:123-124).

A model does exist then for an education system based upon West Indian values embodied in a philosophy or ideology of education. But the reality, which is abundantly illustrated in the literature, is that education in the Virgin Islands is a product of very effective Americanization efforts extending from 1917 to the present day. The American administration built upon the Danish colonial policy which held that the principal goals of education were

> . . . (a) The Christianization of the slaves, (b) improvement of moral character and religious life . . . (c) the building of law-abiding citizens, and (d) (provision of) . . . basic education that would equip (students) for adult roles in society (Turnbull, 1976:5).

As noted above, the primary goal of the U.S. was Americanization of the new territory; the institution of education was perceived as the

> . . . principal instrumentality in this process. As a consequence, an educational system that was traditionally American in all critical aspects; philosophy, goals, objectives, organization, curriculum and instruction, administration and supervision, finance and support . . . was /215/ established and maintained throughout the period 1917-1970.
>
> The prevailing philosophy of education during this period held that (a) education was essential to the total development of the people and their society, and (b) the Ameri-

> can system of education was the greatest safeguard of the freedom of the people and the best guarantee of their political, social, and economic well-being.
>
> The broad goals were to (1) Americanize the people and their society, (2) develop citizens who would effectively share in the duties, responsibilities, and benefits of American citizenship, (3) prepare students to earn a livelihood at home or abroad (pp. 215-216).

The Americanization process would have taken place, and takes place, through a process of "subcultural dominance" which inheres in the process of education itself. According to Neff (1973) a nation is composed of various self-contained "vertical subcultures" which may be ethnic in nature and geographically localized (p. 140). It is through the experience of schooling that the dominant subcultural values of a nation are transmitted to the rest. Neff points out that colonies as well as vertical subcultures within nations are examples of the influence of dominant subcultural values on educational policy, as "most such systems were based far more on dominant metropole cultural values than those of any indigenous subculture, and students in the colonies were judged on the basis of their ability to assimilate these values" (p. 147). Neff describes the process in the following terms:

> In addition to the physical characteristics of the classroom and the school building itself, there are present such materials and institutional culture carriers as books, the curriculum, examinations, and the language of instruction. Because the content of education tends to

> be synthesized subcultural experience, each carries a 'package' of subculture; however, each is also a product of human activity and thus interprets the contents of the package in terms of the dominant subcultural values influencing those who prepared it.
>
> The concept of subcultural dominance is important. Viewing the national culture as a whole, the values, norms, and accepted behavior patterns of the subcultures that dominate the various vertical subcultures tend to influence all behavior associated with these subcultures. Members of these vertical behavior systems must compete for professional advancement, economic well-being, political power, and social status in the national culture largely on the basis of these dominant subcultures' standards (p. 147).

The process of subcultural dominance, or Americanization, has been perceived as so complete both within the continental United States and in the territories, that Reid was able to say that

> . . . schools in the states are, though untrammeled by forcible standardization . . . alike as peas in a pod. The form of administration, organization, and aims and objectives of education found on the mainland were transplanted in toto to . . . outlying areas (Reid, 1941:548).

Although radical commentators like Gordon Lewis (1972) deplore "the fact that there is no Virgin Islands ingredient in the school . . . as an inescapable consequence of fifty years of American cultural imperialism" (p. 282), for the most part, as Lewis himself reports,

> . . . on no single topic do islanders wax so enthusiastic as on that of the educational advances of the last fifty years under the impetus of the American passion for public education as the basis of popular democracy . . . The American belief in the omnipotent power of education to

> solve all social problems has long been a fixed article of faith in the communal psychology (p. 273).

In a class at the College of the Virgin Islands on "The Anthropological and Social Foundations of Education, with Special Emphasis on the Virgin Islands," conducted by Norwell Harrigan in 1975, a flyer entitled simply "We Believe - A Philosophy," and apparently produced by the Virgin Islands Department of Education, was distributed to illustrate the philosophy of education in the Virgin Islands public school system. The first four of the twelve items on the list of beliefs indicate this fundamental adherence to U.S. educational values:

> We Believe:
> 1. That education is essential to the overall development of these islands;
> 2. That the American system of free and universal education is the greatest safeguard of the freedom of our people and is the best guarantee of their social and economic well-being;
> 3. That optimum elementary and secondary education is fundamental to our society. By optimum, we mean well-planned and equipped school buildings, with adequate materials and supplies, competent teachers and administrators;
> 4. That the Virgin Islands, committed by choice to the United States of America and all for which she stands, must nevertheless have a school system which recognizes the important fact that the community differs from other American communities. We are an island territory, until recent years relatively remote from the American mainland. We have a culture of our own that is valuable and should be preserved.

While there is a clear awareness of the need to incorporate elements of Virgin Islands culture in the public school system, it is in the context of a strong commitment to the American way of schooling.

It has been suggested above that curricular changes, while worthwhile, are not a sufficient measure in support of the preservation of a culture. Lewis apparently represents a minority of educators when he expresses the wish that Virgin Islands education might be free of the "American cultural imprint," and further, that

> . . . the school can only be rid of the American cultural imprint when the society as a whole is rid of it. But for most Virgin Islanders . . . perhaps this reality is so difficult to accept that, like the rich young man in the Scripture story, they will go away sorrowing rather than be prepared to embrace its harsh imperatives (Lewis, 1972: 282).

Most of the literature on education in the Virgin Islands in fact seems to indicate that Virgin Islanders are, on the whole, willing to embrace the "American philosophy of education," as long as it is tempered by infusions of Virgin Islands social and psychological reality (Varlack, 1974:35). The assumption that there <u>is</u> such a thing as an "American philosophy of education" runs through the literature on education in the Virgin Islands and tends to support Neff's notion of the process of subcultural dominance and the fact that this process was very successfully implemented in the Virgin Islands. This assumption seems worth exploring.

An "American philosophy of education" would have to be based upon "American values." A review of the literature on education and culture reveals that there is consensus on the existence of such a thing as a traditional "American national character," which includes "the values of individualism and independence, absolute, nonsituational morality of the puritan variety, future time orientation, and strong emphasis on achievement through hard work" (Spindler, 1963:40). Varlack identifies "competition, independence, achievement, work orientation," and somewhat contradictorally, "cooperation" as some of the "treasured values of the culture" (Varlack, 1974:27). Tessler characterizes "mainstream" U.S. values as consisting of materialism, anti-intellectualism, Christian religious beliefs, an individualist vs. collectivist and a competitive vs. collaborative orientation (Tessler, 1979). Commitment to the competitive ethic, future-oriented values, delay of gratification, work ethic and patrifocal nuclear family are given as typical values of school teachers and administrators (Haubrich, 1965a). Lazerson's study of the historical antecedents of early childhood education describes the role of the kindergarten as an instrument of social reform through inculcation of "middle-class norms" and the "values of industriousness, cleanliness, self-discipline and cooperation" (Lazerson, 1972:39). Washington views authoritarianism and competitiveness as the central values in American society (Washington, 1972). Blauner contrasts the "technological" competitive values of Euro-American cultures with the more "communal" values of Third World cultures (Blauner, 1969). If, as

Emily Dickinson wrote, "Success is counted sweetest/By those who ne'er succeed/To comprehend a nectar/Requires sorest need," then the elements of mainstream American values might best be counted by those outside the mainstream and/or aspiring to it. Black ghetto-dwellers, by definition not of the mainstream--insofar as mainstream U.S.A. refers to the white middle-class--are categorized as "mainstreamers" by Hannerz if they

> . . . conform most closely to mainstream American assumptions about the 'normal' life. Consequently, they are also those who are most apt to refer to themselves as 'respectable' or by similar terms.
>
> The fact that the mainstreamers are home owners or have strong hope of social and concomitant spatial mobility implies that many of them are among the better-off members of the ghetto community. There is hardly any unemployment in this category . . . Most of the membership of this category is made up of relatively stable working-class people.
>
> . . . Most of them are married and live in nuclear families with a quite stable composition. Consensual unions, divorces, and separations are much more infrequent in this group than among the ghetto population in general.
>
> The mainstreamers are clearly very concerned with the style and comfort of their homes . . .
>
> If one gets a good idea of the typical concerns of mainstreamers by seeing their homes, they are certainly even more visible in everyday household life. 'A nice home,' 'a good family' and 'taking good care of the family' are things mainstreamers often mention as important things in life and as moral imperatives when they talk about other ghetto dwellers whom they think are not overly concerned with such matters (Hannerz, 1969: pp. 38-40).

Finally, to demonstrate the existence of a set of idealized normative assumptions which social scientists commonly accept as representing "American values," Szwed (1970) quotes Moynihan's assertion that "there is . . . a generalized value system in American society against which all groups and all individuals can in some way measure their worth" (p. 57). Summarizing from the above descriptions, this generalized American value system can be said to consist of competitiveness or individualism, future time orientation, industriousness (work ethic), a nuclear family configuration, and Christian/puritan morality. Although, as indicated earlier, one would wish to avoid treating the salient characteristics of Virgin Islands culture as simply derivative, negative, or pathological versions of those of the metropole, it must be noted that previous attempts to characterize Virgin Islands culture have tended to take that approach. Thus, when the above formulation of U.S. mainstream values is compared with Virgin Islands values as advanced in Harrigan's typology, diametric differences appear in nearly every respect. For example, contrast "future time orientation" and "industriousness" with "The Siesta Syndrome:"

> This attitude has its origin in historical and cultural factors and has /86/ led to the feeling that work is in reality toil not for one's self, one's family or one's country, but for the benefit of another and in the lower income brackets particularly, there is a decided lack of motivation in working towards long-term as against short-term goals. It also manifests itself, however, in somewhat less 'undesirable' ways. People are seldom in a hurry; they take things easily . . .

> While the road to the particular form of development which is open to the islands may justify a search for a peculiar type of substitute motivation for the Puritan ethic, Raran society may well be ahead instead of behind in its philosophy . . . that there is really little satisfaction to be gained from the inexorable battle for the right job, the right country club, the right sanitorium and finally (and often prematurely) the right grave (Harrigan, 1972:86-87).

Compare "nuclear family configuration" and "puritan morality" with "Sexual Amorality" (prevalence of consensual unions and absence of stigma attached to illegitimacy) (pp. 84-85) and "Supernatural Sanguinity" ("the superstition which arises from obeah, belief in jumbies . . . etc., is an important social force") (pp. 83-84).

With respect to the particularity of Cruzan, as opposed to St. Thomian or West Indian values, the literature abounds with references to the special qualities of St. Croix culture and values, notably in relation to the process of schooling, which, because of the numerical preponderance of Continental teachers in the public school system, is seen to threaten the "Crucian way" (Gibson, 1976:99). Although "Cruzan values" may often be described as occupying one end of a balance scale, on the other end of which are "American values," it is too simplistic to state that Cruzan values are merely the opposite of American values. A return to the literature, however, reveals only a curious inability or reluctance to spell out exactly what it is which distinguishes Cruzan from mainland, St. Thomian, and/or West Indian values.

The assumption that there are features which distinguish Cruzan values is based upon the expressed attitudes of many Cruzan informants, and upon reports in the local media which confirm and perpetuate this distinction, and which are consistent with the writer's personal observations and experiences during five years of residence in St. Croix. On the one hand, this awareness of a separate Cruzan identity can be interpreted as an expression of the "insular chauvinism," the "small island pride" (Lewis, 1972:20) or "insular heliocentrism" (Harrigan, 1972:82) which Virgin Islands historian Antonio Jarvis understood to be a manifestation of a token, but nonetheless real distinction:

> St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John are three complete little worlds separated by superficial cultures . . . On the island of St. Croix there is always acrimonious rivalry between the two towns, Christiansted and Frederiksted . . . but on one point they agree unanimously: they hate St. Thomas more than they dislike each other (Jarvis quoted in Harrigan, 1972:82-83).

On the other hand, Green argues that in St. Croix, Mintz's notion of the "interior processes" of a society--

> . . . the forms of association and the values and expressive behavior associated with them--are the consequence of a particular historical experience. That experience includes post-slavery labor and land-use control, patterns of immigration and emigration within the Danish colony, and the persistence of extensive population movement up to the present and including the present British West Indian 'alien problem' in St. Croix. Contemporary features of Crucian society are a perpetuation of trends which have been op-

> erating in the island for over a century. The behavior of individuals is an adaptation to current conditions in St. Croix which reflect those trends (Green, 1972: 328).

To the extent that the history of St. Croix differs from St. Thomas, Cruzan values will differ from St. Thomian values. More so than St. Thomas, which was always more urbanized and cosmopolitan, St. Croix was the focus of "vigorous attempts to shape the form of island society to suit the needs and desires of planters, merchants, and colonial government." In light of this fact, Green looked at the

> . . . historical role of those groups and assessed their importance in the present; to the extent that the larger population of the island reacted, and continues to react, to the presence of those groups, (Green) . . . looked at contemporary forms of adaptation. Thus, we have considered both the declining power of most society-wide institutions, and the non-institutional features of contemporary social life. Those non-institutional features--patterns of friendship, male-female relations, corner group associations, personal networks --are understood as a consequence of the history of St. Croix and as an adaptation to contemporary circumstances (p. 329).

The model of the institutional powers in balance with noninstitutional associations is consistent with Wilson's "respectability vs. reputation" paradigm of West Indian values.

It would appear that the difficulties in explicitly characterizing St. Croix culture and values as separate and distinct from others of the West Indian culture sphere are related to two issues: First, the dynamic of "reputation vs. respectability" is seen to be operative

throughout the Caribbean. In St. Croix, the "respectability" constellation of values and beliefs refers to the relationship with the United States rather than to the European powers which define this relationship for the other West Indian islands. The salient personal characteristics of Cruzan culture do seem to exist in a counterpoise with those of the U.S. mainland, especially at the present time, when the native Cruzan is perhaps becoming a minority in his/her own island. For example, then, the importance in St. Croix of a large, informal network of primary allegiance which may include but which is not defined by the nuclear family configuration, is seen to contrast with the individualism and competitiveness of the American value system. The elements in Harrigan's typology mentioned above are also examples of this relationship. The second issue follows from the first. There is good evidence to show that Cruzans are threatened now with being outnumbered by black and white Continentals, Puerto Ricans and "aliens" (British West Indian down-islanders) (Bough and Macridis, 1970; Gibson, 1976; Green, 1972). Thus, it makes sense that a Cruzan sense of identity would be particularly strongly acknowledged and expressed as a protective measure against these incursions. As Patterson (1975) has observed, ethnic identification is a set of allegiances which are chosen because they "maximize material and social gains in the society at large and minimize survival risks" (p. 311). Patterson emphasizes the fact that ethnicity is a chosen form of identification and chosen for a particular reason, as noted above. If this is the case, it would appear

that the Cruzan value system is caught in a double bind situation: On the one hand, the American connection seems to be the source of whatever material gains appear to be available. On the other hand, the American connection and the related spurt of prosperity which has brought so many outsiders to St. Croix, have placed Cruzans in the status of second-class citizens, particularly in the context of American race relations. There seems to be less conflict about accepting this reality in St. Thomas, which has traditionally received a larger share of the tourist business and development dollar than has St. Croix. This "schizoid" condition has been widely recognized and discussed (Green, 1972; Gibson, 1976; Harrigan, 1972; Lewis, 1972). The generalized Cruzan value system can, on the basis of this analysis, be said to consist of a set of contradictory impulses, which in turn can be characterized as part of the broader West Indian value system of reputation and respectability.

The Cruzan sense of uniqueness is thus based partly on the typical West Indian perception of island insularity, partly upon real differences in historical experience, and partly upon the current conflict between the waning West Indian identification and the growing American influence.

For the purposes of comparison then, but without doing violence to the uniquely Cruzan lifestyle and values, St. Croix will be considered as an integral part of the West Indian culture sphere.

It has been suggested that, to the extent that there is such a thing as a "West Indian national character," (Green, 1972; Mintz, 1971; Lewis, 1972; Wilson, 1973) there are also uniquely "West Indian values," distinct from "American values," which could form the philosophical basis for a West Indian educational ideology (Wilson, 1973). The obstacle to the development of such a system in the Virgin Islands is not, as most writers seem to suggest, that the educational process is dominated by non-Virgin Islands content irrelevant to the lives of Virgin Islands students. That is a serious problem but ultimately an instrumental problem which could be ameliorated through curricular reform. The stumbling block to the development of a West Indian educational system is that the present system is based on an "American philosophy of education," which is predicated on the American mainstream values presented above. As in the continental United States, a system founded upon these values is functional for those who are of, in, or aspiring to, the "mainstream." In the case of the Virgin Islands, as in the United States, it is the "native elite" who comprise this category and who have the "vested interest" in supporting and maintaining the existing neo-colonial system which Williams describes (1968:11-12).

In this sense then, it is possible to conclude--stock protests in the literature to the contrary--that normative conceptions of the ends of the educational process <u>can</u> in fact be transferred cross-culturally for, as Foster has remarked, "there is nothing unique about educational transfer itself. Few systems of formal education in the modern world

are local products" (Foster, 1965:1). Further, it may also be concluded that in the Virgin Islands the process of transfer has taken place "effectively," to the extent that the recipients of the transferred system have accepted the norms and values implicitly therein. For those who have, the system works; for those who have not (and in the Virgin Islands, this group may be said to be in the majority), it does not.

In the United States mainland, the same situation exists insofar as

> . . . the schools designed and operated to serve a white Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking, middle class-oriented school population and population groups and individuals who have melted into the reasonable facsimiles thereof are not and cannot be adequate for a non-white, non-Anglo-Saxon, non-English speaking, or non-middle class population (Cardenas, 1974:169).

In the literature of education in the Virgin Islands, the only writer to express these conclusions is Gordon Lewis, perhaps because most others are of that elite which has successfully passed through the system, and whose numbers are so limited as a result of the situation described above (Gibson, 1976; Lewis, 1972; Williams, 1968).

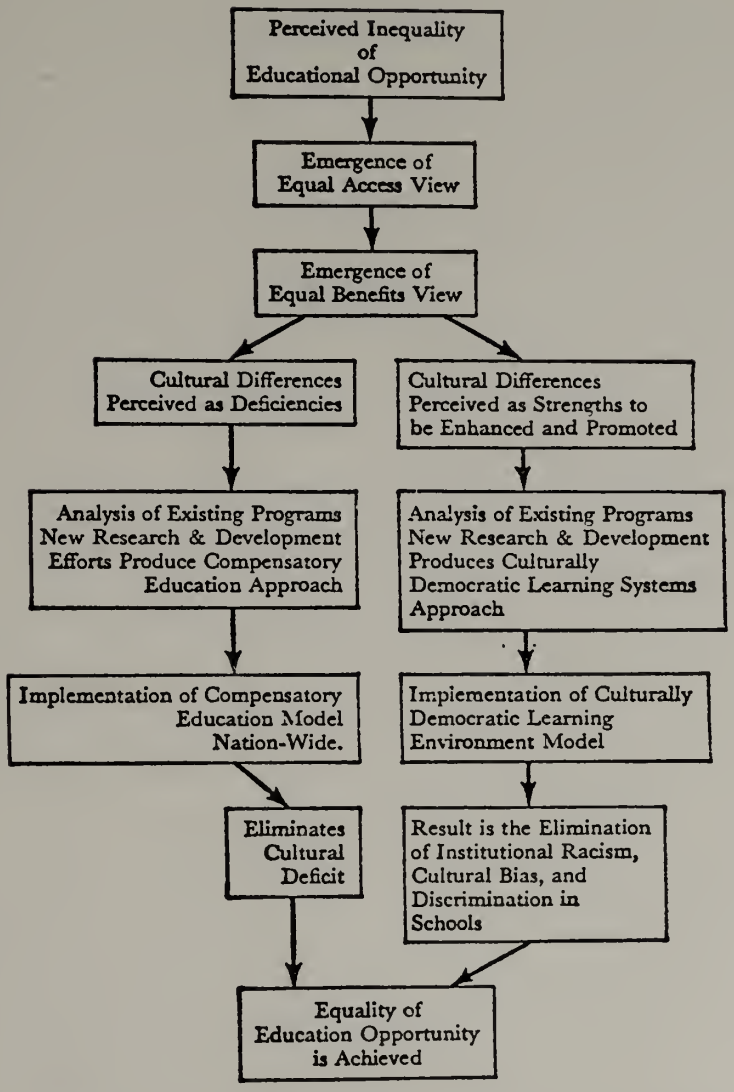
In the continental United States, there is no such communion of silence. The relationship between school dysfunction for cultural minorities and the need for structural and institutional changes in school and society has been understood and forcefully articulated (Arciniega, 1973; Baratz and Baratz, 1970; Bentley, 1972; Brischetto, 1973; Cardenas, 1974; de la Garza, 1973; Warrior, 1973; Washington, 1972; Wilcox, 1972).

Colonial Education: The Case of Compensatory Education. Arciniega (1973) has developed a model (see Figure 3.1) whereby educators and policy makers commonly choose between two approaches or strategies to overcome school dysfunction ("perceived inequality of educational opportunity"):

> One is that equal benefits from schooling can best be achieved by successfully overcoming the negative effects of . . . deprived environments. Steps must be taken to remedy the deleterious influences on the child of his home, neighborhood, and peer group. This is essentially the rationale for the 'compensatory education' approach of recent years. Programs were developed to compensate for deprivations stemming from home, peers, and neighborhood and to acculturate the child into middle-class values and behavior.
>
> A second view is that equality of results can best be achieved by shifting the focus to the school environment. The task is to create school systems that accept and capitalize on the strengths of cultural difference. The promotion of cultural differences is recognized as a valid and legitimate educational goal and is utilized in developing the full potentialities of the minority child. Thus, equal benefits from the system are to be achieved not by transforming the Chicano or Black child in order to make him over in the image of the dominant group /178/ but by reforming the school he attends along cultural pluralistic lines. The two basic strategies derived from the initial decision to move toward national achievement of equal education opportunity are depicted schematically (see below) (Arciniega, 1973:178-179).

There is no doubt that compensatory education has been the more commonly utilized of the two approaches. There are several ways in which the compensatory education approach as implemented in the continental United States corresponds with the Americanization or neo-colonial approach to education which has been employed in the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Figure 3.1. Schematic of Alternative Responses to the Equal Benefits View.



Arciniega, Tomas A. "The Myth of Compensatory Education Model in Education of Chicanos." Chicanos and Native Americans. Rudolph O. de la Garza, ed., Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973, p. 179.

First, the characteristic of exogenous decision-making, discussed earlier as a predominant feature of education in a colonial society, is also typical of compensatory education programs. Although the language of the Economic Opportunity Act specifically, and ESEA Title I implicitly emphasized "maximum feasible participation" and although Head Start--one of the first compensatory education programs--provided for broad parental participation, it is not clear that in fact there was a positive commitment to this participation, particularly in the sense that the process of standards formulation (related to the development of goals for the education process) took place on a centralized and virtually unilateral basis.

Second, the prevalence of a "missionary approach" to education: This was literally the case in the Virgin Islands; a search of the literature on compensatory education reveals a similar approach. Goveia (1965) illustrates the way in which a missionary in the 18th century was instructed to gain the good will of his West Indian converts in order to reinforce his influence over their development:

> You will enter into habits of acquaintance and familiarity with them, will treat them with kindness and condescension, and convince them that you are interested in their happiness and welfare, will watch (for the) most favorable opportunities of instilling principles of virtue and religion into their hearts, will improve to the best advantage the seasons of sickness and affliction, when their minds are most open to serious impressions, and will, in

> short, endeavour to turn every little incident into an instrument of moral and religious improvement (p. 286).

Likewise, the teacher selected to serve in schools in "culturally different areas" of "children of limited background" would have to be "a teacher dedicated as a clergyman, selfless . . . sensitive . . . skillful . . . ready to understand, sacrifice, serve, support, forgive" (Druding, 1962:187).

One of the "deficits" commonly attributed to disadvantaged children is a short attention span related to an inability to delay gratification (Bloom, 1965). Maccoby (1968) postulates the existence of "certain disciplined temperamental qualities" which, introduced as activity dimensions in a formal preschool setting, would help "culturally deprived" children to learn "impulse control." Maccoby describes in this regard the work of Walter Mischel on postponement of gratification in

> . . . some experiments in which they were able to increase children's willingness to wait for reward by allowing them to observe a model who chose delayed rather than immediate reward . . . (I)t appears that presenting a child with a model can be thought of as a mode of cognitive transmission - what is important is that the child be informed of the behavior of the model /196/ and, under some circumstances at least, he will do likewise. Perhaps we should consider including in our preschool training programs some old-fashioned morality tales, telling children how people get ahead in the world by waiting for a delayed reward (pp. 196-197).

Implicit in this study is the assumption that people do get ahead in the world by waiting for a delayed reward; an arguable assumption, but one which fits well with the notion that a good Christian will get his/her reward in the next world if not in this one.

Missionary education was seen shortly after emancipation in the West Indies as a response to a "crisis situation, which could alone . . . be remedied by education." Gordon's (1968) presentation of the Sterling report indicates that the colonial governments saw a clear choice "between 'the awakening of the moral and intelligent powers' of the ex-slave children or allowing them to inherit the attitudes of slavery 'characterised by indolence, vagrancy, debauchery, deceitfulness, and contented ignorance'" (p. 18). Others are more specific regarding the purposes of missionary education as a means of containing any possible uprisings or attempts to change the power base which would upset commercial activities and jeopardize the established social order after emancipation (Bacchus, 1969; Corbin, n.d.; Pearson, 1969). There is an interesting parallel here with the social function compensatory education is seen or implied by some commentators to serve: (Referring to preschool interventions for culturally deprived children)

> Several people have implied . . . that there are measures /200/ short of 'Freedom Now' which could help to increase the coping skills of the families and thereby reduce the anxieties of the children (Maccoby, 1968:200-201) (Emphasis added).

> Today we are witnessing the powerful pressure of the civil rights movement which

> is attempting to create certain fundamental changes in jobs, housing, and education, so that all American children may participate more fully in the fruits of this society. Strangely, the federal government is partly financing the revolution in civil rights (Haubrich, 1965a:1) (Emphasis added).

> Not only is compensatory education a failure, but it also tends to divert attention from the real issue, namely reform of the public schools. Of course, workers in compensatory education do not propose that the schools should not be reformed. Nevertheless, their work tends to nourish the hope that the crisis in education can be significantly lessened by remedial work with young children, and this diverts attention from the more pressing problems of the schools (Ginsburg, 1972:195).

> While considerable effort must be invested at all stages of the educational system to reduce the ravages of cultural deprivation, it is likely that the highest rate of 'pay-off' will come from preschool programs specially devised to meet the educational needs of socially disadvantaged children. Furthermore, such programs will be attractive to school systems because success at the preschool level will enable the schools to maintain their present curricular and teaching practices with a minimum of alteration for these children. The tendency for educational systems to maintain stability at all costs is likely to mean that preschool programs will become exceedingly popular (Bloom, 1965:2) (Emphasis added).

From these comments it would appear that compensatory education was seen in some quarters as a prop to the status quo in a way not unlike that in which missionary education was seen as an anti-insurrectionary

measure in the pre-and-post- emancipation West Indies.

This is not to deny that the millions of dollars poured into compensatory education programs through the Economic Opportunity Act and ESEA Title I did not effect some positive changes in educational practices--although the appropriateness of the allocations of some of these funds has been called into question (McLaughlin, 1974)--any more than the infusions of American dollars into the Virgin Islands after Transfer were not effective in improving the provision of educational opportunities to Virgin Islanders.

Nor is it suggested that the "Fathers of Compensatory Education" conspired to institutionalize a form of domestic colonialism in the schools. Hunt (1964), refuting the notions of fixed intelligence and predetermined development and Bloom (1965), contributing the idea that IQ test scores stabilize with age and thus stressing the importance of early experience, both helped create a positive milieu of raised expectations for social change through education. The educators who provided the theoretical foundations for the compensatory education movement were certainly well-intentioned (although Deutsch's emphasis on the deficit model which became synonymous with the movement, not surprisingly fueled allegations of elitism and racism). But, just as the road to hell is paved with good intentions, so the wake of social reform programming is strewn with unintended consequences. Very ambitious and sophisticated attempts to evaluate ESEA Title I revealed "a dearth of knowledge about effective educational strategies, generally, and about

local implementation of a federal initiative, specifically" (McLaughlin, 1974:49). Discontinuities between program design and program reality are the rule rather than the exception. The point is that the philosophical or theoretical base for compensatory education may not bear a significant relation to the political reality and social function of compensatory education programs as they are perceived by those whom they are designed to serve.

The suggestion is that as a result of some of the factors presented above--exogenous decision-making, missionary (or "deficit") approach, and implicit commitment to stability of established institutions as opposed to institutional change--both programs (Americanization in the Virgin Islands and compensatory education in the continental United States) were and are incursions of a colonial nature on the majority of people affected by them, with the exceptions of those recipients whose values and beliefs match/ed those of the idealized American norm.

The education program under consideration in this dissertation--the Child Development Associate program (CDA)--may be seen to exemplify some of the issues raised in this section. The CDA competencies are performance standards of an education program which was developed as a result of a federal initiative and implemented locally in all the states and territories. As such, the CDA competencies represent educational standards or norms which are applied cross-culturally. The history and and development of the CDA program provides an excellent illustration of the process of "exogenous decision-making" as it relates to the groups or communities affected by the decisions which were made.

Development of the CDA Program.

The CDA program was first announced at the 1970 Conference of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) by Dr. Edward Zigler, then Director of the Office of Child Development (OCD) and Chief of the Children's Bureau of DHEW. The announcement took the form of a statement of OCD's commitment to work on a program to upgrade preschool staff quality, commensurate with the increased needs for trained child care staff which had become apparent in the 1960's. According to a recent publication of the ACYF, action was immediate, and as early as January 1971, "thirty leaders in the field of early childhood education/child development" were brought together to discuss how best to implement such a program. As a result of this meeting, two task forces were organized -- one to develop competencies and training guidelines and another, convened by NAEYC, to study the feasibility of the consortium approach to implementation. Based upon the work of these task forces, Zigler officially presented plans for the implementation of the CDA program at the NAEYC conference in November of 1971 (Jones et al, 1978:3-5). Zigler described the program as a means of developing a new profession of child care worker, characterized by "1) a delineation of the competencies that one would want of an individual responsible for the care of children; 2) the development of training programs which would permit individuals to attain these competencies; and 3) the development and implementation of procedures that will effectively assess whether the individual does indeed possess those competencies" (Zigler,

1971:73). In keeping with the competency-based approach, the certification of CDAs was to be "based on an assessment of the individual's performance as an educator of young children, not upon our typical trappings of academic accomplishment." Zigler publicly acknowledged two staff members of the OCD, Drs. Jenny Klein and Rebekah Shuey, as having been responsible for the development of the CDA program idea "to the point where it could be announced" (p. 73).

In 1972, the CDA Consortium, Inc. was established by a "planning group made up of representatives from the American Association of Elementary, Kindergarten, and Nursery Educators, the Association for Childhood Education International, and the National Association for the Education of Young Children." The Consortium was funded by the ACYF, then still OCD. The first task of the Consortium was to review the CDA compentencies developed by the ACYF task force of early childhood educators and child development specialists. The competencies reviewed and accepted by the CDA consortium's policy-making Board of Directors stated that a competent CDA should have knowledge and skills in:

1) Setting up and maintaining a safe and healthy learning environment;
2) Advancing physical and intellectual competence;
3) Building positive self-concept and individual strength;
4) Organizing and sustaining the positive functioning of children and adults in a group environment;
5) Bringing about optimal coordination of home and center childrearing practices and expectations;

6) Carrying out supplementary responsibilities related to the children's programs (Jones et al, 1978:5) (See appendix for full text of competencies).

It should be noted that these six competency areas and the forty-two specific competencies initially introduced in 1971 have evidently not been changed since their development. The competencies which Preston Wilcox, member of the Black Colloquy convened by the CDA Consortium, reproduced in the appendix of his highly critical 1972 paper on the CDA competencies, is exactly the same as the list of competencies examined by the writer in the Head Start agency in St. Croix in 1978, and this same list was also in use by Child Specialist Field Supervisors (Education Supervisors) in Boston Head Start Centers in 1978.

In 1972-73 the CDA Consortium convened a series of colloquia of minority group representatives with special concerns about and expertise in the field of education of young children. The colloquia were convened for the ostensible purpose of serving as a forum for minority group opinion on the CDA program and suggestions about how the program might best be implemented in the communities in question. Participants of both the Black and Native American Colloquia expressed misgivings that their deliberations would in fact serve "merely as a 'rubber stamp' for decisions already made by the Consortium" (Warrior, 1973:4).*

The Black Child Development Institute published a report on the CDA Black Colloquy, independently from the report on the Black Colloquy

* See also CDA Consortium, Inc., 1973; Black Child Development Institute, 1972

published by the CDA Consortium. In the independent report, the issue of participation in policy making is addressed most directly, and is worth quoting in extenso:

> In spite of the fact that the CDA is an innovative program which will require change at every level to be successful, the planning for the CDA and the major decision-making authority for the consortium has been entrusted to three organization--Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI); National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC); /34/ Elementary, Kindergarten, Nursery Educators (EKNE)--which in the past have not functioned as catalysts for social change (emphasis added).
>
> Black people, parent organizations, and other groups most likely to spearhead innovation and who have the greatest vested interest in change have only been peripherally involved. At the point where these organizations were invited to a meeting to discuss the CDA program plans were nearly finalized and the project was ready to operate. Organizations, including those representing minority interests, were called in to give an endorsement without any prior policy determining role.
>
> . . . it is time for OCD to change its typical top-down way of operating and to begin to really include the population served in planning and decision making for programs like this one, which will affect Black children everywhere.
>
> . . . Programs and directives that . . . affect Black children . . . have been brought into being without any input from knowledgeable persons with experience in operating community controlled child development centers, with experience in Head Start programs, or with professional expertise in related fields. Yet these programs are developed in areas where these persons have invaluable contributions to make. The OCD consistently

> operates without even consulting community persons and minority groups representatives who have experience and knowledge of child development, much less involving such persons in any decision making capacity. The OCD continues to unveil new programs and directions only at the stage where the basic decisions have been made and the basic direction set--where, indeed, even a consultative, advisory role is meaningless because there is nothing left to consult about (Black Child Development Institute, 1972:34-35, 43).

Nor were the participants in the Black Colloquy silent on this issue: Bentley (1972) warned that

> . . . in the face of a widespread increase in accountability or competency related approaches in the field of early childhood education, very little heed is being taken of the advice that Black input should precede, not occur subsequent to, conceptualization of assessment procedures for Black children and youth (p. 13).

Wilcox (1972), in an item-by-item analysis or "de-coding" of the CDA competencies, found a "hidden agenda" which he interpreted as evidence that the CDA program was an attempt to maintain the status quo by brainwashing Black children to accept mainstream U.S. values (pp. 48-49).

The CDA competencies are obviously worded very carefully to avoid any suggestion of deficit-model language. Further, too many highly-inferential value judgments would be required to state that the CDA competencies represent a clear commitment to institutional stability as opposed to institutional change. It is possible, however, to recognize the elements of exogenous decision-making in the process by which CDA competencies were developed and disseminated: A process in which two

federal agency staffers worked with a group of thirty professional specialists to develop a list of performance standards which was approved by a group consisting of representatives of professional organizations not known for their active commitment to social change. Only after this list was approved by the sponsoring-policy-making agency was it submitted to a wider audience, representative of those the standards would affect. Significantly, despite the fact that these groups raised serious questions about the appropriateness, not only of the content of the competencies themselves (McKinley, 1973; Warrior, 1973; Wilcox, 1972), but also of the process by which they were formulated, the list of CDA performance standards remains unchanged to this day.

The literature reviewed in this chapter supports the view that the Virgin Islands shares important features of social, cultural, economic, ecological, and historical experience with other West Indian societies, which distinguish the Virgin Islands from mainland U.S. subcultures. Education in the Virgin Islands was seen to resemble education in other classic colonial situations in such aspects as dependence, exogenous decision-making, acceptance and adoption of the status implications of colonial education as part of the process of Americanization, and the related tendency of the education system to function as a conservative social force. The compensatory education movement (and the development of the CDA program) were briefly analyzed in terms of similarities in function with colonial education.

Appropriately, since the discussion of Virgin Islands education and culture is characterized by the existence of internal contradictions, the primary question to which this chapter was addressed must also be answered with a contradiction. The literature on education in the Virgin Islands denies, almost unanimously, that educational standards can be effectively transferred cross-culturally. This same literature, however, documents the extremely successful process of Americanization of the Virgin Islands school system. The fact that this system is seen to possess serious shortcomings is not an indication that the American values of the system can not effectively be applied in the Virgin Islands. Rather, it is taken to mean that the system has been successfully transferred in precisely the form in which it exists in the United States--i.e., as an institution which effectively serves only the dominant subcultural groups.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

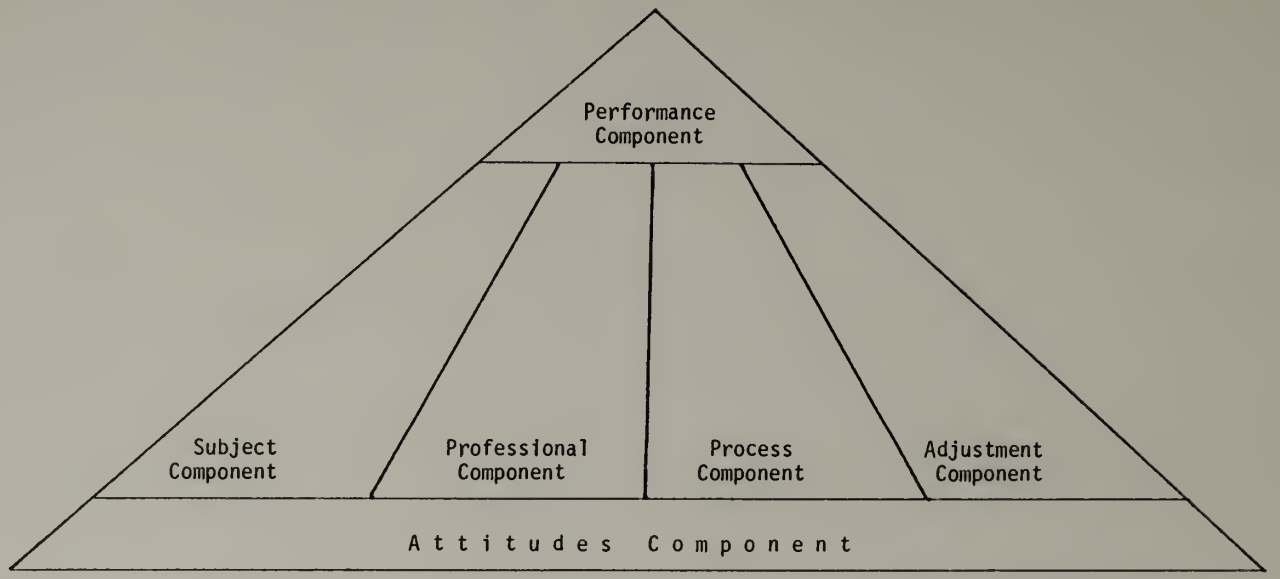
Introduction. Evidence for conceptualizing the notion of teacher competence in political terms was examined in Chapter II. The concept of teacher competence was defined as political since that which is acknowledged as competence in teaching is by definition normative (representative of group consensus) in relation to the values and goals which are seen to inhere in the process of education. That is, implicit in the idea of teacher competence is the answer to the question, which may be different for each group of people or each community asking it, "What are the aims of human development?" or "What kind of person should a member of our society be?" Additionally, teacher competence is a political concept insofar as decisions about what shall be identified as competent teaching and rewarded as such are decisions which, by statute, are delegated to an administrative agency in the context of a body of administrative law which is characterized by emphasis on due process safeguards of the right of consumer participation in standards formulation. The CBTE movement was seen as an institutional response to changes in the concept of teacher competence; specifically in the growing awareness of the political nature of the issue (Schmieder, 1973).

It should be remarked that although the literature on CBTE is voluminous, only one serious discussion on the nature of the concept of competence itself has appeared. Johnson et al's 1974 paper on "A

Meaning for Competency" gives support to the notion of competence as a political conceptualization which was developed in Chapter II. The authors analyzed competence into several components: performance; subject (instructional objective); professional; process; adjustment; and attitude components (See Figure 4.1).

First, it is made clear that competence cannot be understood except in terms of an action in relation to an object. It is not an abstraction: Competence implies "action in relation to an objective. Thus, without clear indication of an objective and the implications of impending action there can be no competency" (p. 12). Although competency cannot be conceived of as an abstraction, the "attitude" or value-orientation component of competence is seen as the foundation upon which all other elements of competence rest:

> When we have positive attitudes toward some objective we usually do those things which we think will make it happen. When we have negative attitudes toward some objective we tend to avoid it or to prevent it from happening. If we feel neither positive nor negative we tend to do nothing. With no attitude or feeling there is no desire to act; thus no performance. It is only with positive feelings then that a competency is implemented. This rationale leads the authors to regard the attitude component which contains values, attitudes and feelings as the foundation upon which all other components rest.
>
> Some people value certain things more than others. Also, values differ within and among groups. Thus, there may be many values associated with any particular teaching competence (p. 22).



Performance Component contains observable behavioral elements of the performance associated with the teaching competency.

Subject Component contains elements of the competency directly associated with the instructional objectives or subject to be taught which enable performance of the competency.

Professional Component contains elements of the competency associated with professional education which enable performance of the competency such as principles, strategies, and techniques.

Process Component contains thought processing elements which enable the implementation of the teaching competency.

Adjustment Component contains elements essential to the individual's adaptation of his personal characteristics to the performance of the competency.

Attitudes Component contains enabling elements of attitudes, values, and feelings essential to the performance of the teaching competency.

Fig. 4.1. The Components of a Competency
From Johnson, Charles E., Shearron, Gilbert, and Hensel, Nancy. "A Meaning for Competency." Washington, D.C. ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 092 538, 1974.

In the Head Start classrooms under study, respondents were asked what they would look for to determine if a teacher were competent; and perceptions were defined as concrete. However, respondents' values relating to the goals of education and thus, to definitions of competence, are postulated to influence the ways in which teacher competence is perceived. Based upon Johnson's analysis of the concept of competence and upon the primarily positive response of multi-cultural educators to the promise of CBTE programs for participant decision making on value-issues (i.e., competency specifications), it would be reasonable to expect that individuals with different values would have different perceptions of teacher competence, and similarly, that members of different cultural groups would also have distinctive perceptions of competence. It was the aim of the empirical part of this study to determine whether or not this was the case among two groups of Head Start teachers from different cultural groups.

Design. Perceptions of teacher competency will be regarded as the dependent variable in this study comparing Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers, with location, or "culture" as the primary independent variable. The null hypothesis was that as a result of the cross-cultural "treatment" or application of CDA standards (via fiscal regulatory control), in the historical tradition of "Americanization through education," no significant differences would occur in perceptions of teacher competency of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers.

The approach taken was to try to elicit Head Start teachers' perceptions of teacher competency by asking teachers what they would look for in the context of a classroom observation in order to decide whether the classroom teacher were competent. In addition, Head Start teachers were asked to rate the importance of items on a list of factors derived from CDA competencies. The logical means by which these approaches could be implemented was to conduct a cross-cultural field study, defined as "analysis of data specifically collected and classified for the comparative purposes in mind, whether through direct observation, interviewing, test administration, field experiments, or laboratory experiments" (Duijker and Rokkan, 1954:9).

According to Frijda and Jahoda, cross cultural research is subject to methodological problems which arise from two sources: "The pitfalls of fair group comparisons and the baffling complexity of conditions and variables surrounding the variables under study" (1969:36).

These, and other methodological issues in cross cultural research relevant to the study, are addressed below.

Comparability of Samples. The sampling procedure, of critical importance in cross-cultural research (Brislin et al, 1973; Escotet, 1973b; Sjoberg, 1969; Whiting, 1960, 1968), was largely predetermined by the nature of the target population. The total population of Head Start teachers in St. Croix was sampled. An effort was made to match this sample with the Boston sample on the basis of race and ethnicity in order to minimize extraneous influence. The issue of comparability of samples in cross-cultural studies concerns the desirability of minimizing effects of common origin and diffusion (Angelini, 1964; Escotet, 1973b; Whiting, 1968). In cross-cultural research, the ideal methodological design would be to compare two distinct, homogeneous cultures or communities, using "non-culture bound units" (Kluckhohn in Moore, 1961:89). This methodological stipulation has been cited as one of the most problematic in social science inquiry (Frijda and Jahoda, 1969; Kluckhohn, 1961; Sjoberg, 1969). Social scientists have attempted to formulate "invariant points of reference" or "universal categories" which are not "reflections of the cultural values of a particular social system" and which can be operationalized for the purposes of cross-cultural comparative study (Sjoberg, 1969:53). Most of these formulations have proved inadequate (Sjoberg, 1969) and the results of the studies based upon them, uninterpretable (Brislin, 1973; Campbell, 1943; Escotet, 1973b). One such

formulation by Florence Kluckhohn has been singled out (C. Kluckhohn, 1961; Sjoberg, 1969) as most heuristic. Kluckhohn identified five invariant points of reference which she presented as cross-cultural constants, through the use of which cross-cultural comparisons could legitimately be made. She stated these universal categories in the form of five questions:

> 1) What are the innate predispositions of men? 2) What is the relation of man to nature? 3) What is the significant time dimension? or What is the direction in time of the action process? 4) What type of personality is to be most valued? 5) What is the dominant modality of the relationship of men to other men? The problems stated are constant; they arise inevitably out of the human situation (Sjoberg, 1969:4).

Question four, concerning the type of personality most to be valued, is the only question in which a prescriptive element is introduced; this is the area which has been operationalized in this study of perceptions of teacher competence. The issue of teacher competence relates both to the prescription of desired attitudes, behaviors, and skills for teachers, and to the implication that these are the factors which will produce new crops of socialized creatures who possess the type of personality which is valued in the society in question (the goals of the education process).

Thus, genuine cross-cultural comparison of perceptions of teacher competence is deemed possible, based on the premise that perceptions of teacher competence represent a conceptualization of a "universal category" or "invariant point of reference" (Kluckhohn, 1961). In

anthropological, sociological, and historical literature on the colonial experience in the Virgin Islands, however, the groups are distinguishable from each other in many cultural respects. Turning to the culture of schooling though, definitive cultural characteristics may be diminished. If, as has been suggested in Chapter II, the culture of schooling for Americanization is distinct from the cultures of the mass of non-dominant subcultural groups, it may be necessary to consider the possibility that the study may not have been cross-cultural as such.

Boston and St. Croix were selected as the units of comparison because the Investigator (I) lived for seven years in Boston and five years in St. Croix and was thus familiar with apparent and striking cultural differences in the two locales. Boston was regarded as an example of an American community, and was not intended to be necessarily representative in any way. Landy (1959) compared an Hispanic-West Indian community with an urban New England community on methods of socialization in child rearing, attributing differences to cultural and social class factors, and similarities to cross-cultural and "possibly universal socialization phenomena" (pp. 11-12). While Landy's study does establish a precedent for accepting the unit comparability of a Caribbean and a New England urban community, the present study does not make any such claims for universal generalizability of findings, for reasons to be discussed.

Response Bias. The response bias is one of the major difficulties confronting researchers using indirect techniques such as the

interview and questionnaire cross-culturally (Pfau, 1976). Adams (1970) discusses the tendency for teachers in one culture to be "freer with their willingness to emphasize anything than (are) others" (p.58). "The acquiescent response set" (agreeing with anything) is a typical mode of response in some cultures. This mode of response is evidently more pronounced in data gathered by written rather than spoken means (Brislin, 1973:205). In order to minimize this artifact, both a written (questionnaire) and an open-ended verbal (interview) method of data collection were used in the study.

Conceptual and Linguistic Equivalence. Conceptual equivalence is a requirement of cross-cultural research. In order to compare two cultures, an assumption must be made as to the existence of concept equivalence, or a "dimensional identity," or an "invariant referent." Such an assumption indicates that comparison must be predicated upon a cultural universal or common category system, such as described above in the discussion of perceptions of teacher competence as an "invariant referent" based upon Kluckhohn's typology. Linguistic equivalence makes concrete that which is posited abstractly in discussions of conceptual equivalence.

> Different cultures use different category systems to describe similar phenomena, and it may well be that such systems are more appropriate for description of that given culture, (and) do more justice to its functions and meanings, than one imposed from without (Frijda and Jahoda, 1969:37) (Emphasis added).

Linguistic equivalence is a major issue in cross cultural research and is widely discussed in the literature, more so perhaps than conceptual equivalence precisely because it is more empirical and more readily graspable and manipulable. Translation problems are notoriously challenging (Frijda and Jahoda, 1969). Commonly, measures constructed in English must be translated for administration to respondents in non-English-speaking cultures. While English is the official language in both Boston and St. Croix, the local dialect in St. Croix is a distinct variant of the Caribbean Creole dialect and the dialect of the Boston sample is a variant of Labov's "Black English Vernacular" (1972). The instruments of measurement were administered in the so-called "Standard English" dialect (Labov, 1972) and responses were given, for the most part, in the local dialects. While translation was thus not a problem in the study, it must be noted that the use of words in the "Standard English" dialect may not carry the intended meaning to a native speaker of Cruzan Caribbean Creole and/or to a native speaker of Boston's Black English Vernacular. Likewise, the CDA competencies themselves may not be "linguistically equivalent" because they were not constructed with the cultural realities of any particular cultural group in mind. They were constructed with the expressed hope that local communities would interpret the standards according to their particular needs; however, a list of competencies presented in a standardized form in standard English may not be based upon comparable category systems nor be perceived as describing the same phenomena to members of different cultural groups. The solution to this problem would have been to engage native speakers

in both locales to construct and administer the instruments. Short of this measure, the I's familiarity with the local scene based on five and seven years of experience working in the St. Croix and Boston communities, respectively, was utilized in the construction of the instruments. The CDA competencies, however, proved to translate poorly. Efforts to run a reliability test by having a Head Start education supervisor code questionnaire items derived from CDA competencies back into the CDA competency areas failed because the CDA language itself was (deliberately) not used in the instrument. The education supervisor did not recognize as a competency any item which was not couched in CDA language. The reader should be sensitive to both problems of linguistic equivalence, as well as possible response biases, as either problem may impose limitations upon the generalizability of the results.

Instrumentation: Development and Procedures. Instruments of measurement in the study were a questionnaire* and a structured interview. The questionnaire was devised to quantify respondents' opinions on the importance of a list of traits and skills which were derived from the first five CDA competency criteria or factors.** The publications of the OCD-ACYF which describe the CDA credentialling process and list the competencies were studied. A list of items intended to be representative of each competency area was then developed. The wording of the competency descriptors was changed so that insofar as possible, the teachers would be less likely to give rote responses of competencies to which they had been exposed in the workshops which all attended.

Pilot Interviews. In November of 1975, the Investigator met with the Education Supervisor of St. Croix Head Start and introduced herself as a graduate student at the College of the Virgin Islands (which was the case at that time) interested in undertaking a study of Head Start teachers' perceptions of teacher competence. Interviews were conducted with the Education Supervisor and with the Head Start Administrator, who granted permission to interview all the St. Croix Head Start teachers. At a meeting of all the Head Start teachers, the Education Supervisor announced that a College of the Virgin Islands graduate student wanted to do a taped interview with each teacher. The Investigator subsequently telephoned all the teachers at the Head Start centers and set up appointments with them. The Education Super-

* See Appendix A.
** See Appendix B.

visor accompanied the Investigator on the first two interviews, although she was not present in the room during the interviews. The interviews were structured in that they consisted of the same questions asked in the same order. First, the Investigator introduced herself and explained her purpose:

> My name is Helen Laurence. I'm a grad student at College of the Virgin Islands and I'm doing a study to find out what Head Start teachers think of as a competent teacher. I'm asking all the Head Start teachers on the island this question because I have a feeling that the people who write the definitions and requirements for a competent teacher are people who may not have been in a classroom for years, if ever. (STRONG agreement always at this point.) Since I feel that the Head Start teacher is the person who knows best what is meant to be competent in the Head Start classroom, I would like to get your opinion on this.
>
> First of all, if you were coming into a Head Start classroom--not your own room--as an observer, what would be the first thing you would look for to determine whether or not the teacher in that classroom was a competent teacher?
>
> If you were going to tell a new teacher--a Head Start teacher who's just starting on her first job--how to be a good Head Start teacher, what would you tell that person?
>
> When you think back to the days when you were in Kindergarten or preschool and the primary grades, who was your favorite teacher at that time? Tell me a little bit about that person.
>
> Is there anything else that you would like to add that I didn't ask? Anything about

teachers or teaching or how to judge whether a teacher is a good teacher?

Questions such as "Where were you born?", "How long have you been working here?","How far did you go in school?", "What kind of training did you receive for this job?" etc. were asked at the beginning of the interviews. The interviews were tape recorded with the knowledge and consent of the respondents. The interviews were carried out for the most part in classrooms with the children present, or in the next room. (The majority of centers are located in apartments which are part of low-income housing projects and as such, typically have 2-3 rooms plus kitchen and bath.) As a result, when transcription was attempted, a substantial portion of the tapes turned out to be inaudible because of background noise. In addition, several respondents expressed feelings of uneasiness because of the tape recorder, which was seen to serve a distancing function. For these reasons, these interviews were considered as pilot data, and not included in the analysis to be reported in the next chapter.

Structured Interview. The transcripts of the pilot interviews were used to construct a structured interview schedule which was designed to be administered without a tape recorder. This instrument was administered in May 1978 in St. Croix and in November-December 1978 in Boston. The I wrote down verbatim responses to questions on background information and to two open-ended questions with four and five parts, respectively:

> If you entered a Head Start classroom as an observer, what would be the first thing you would look for to determine whether the classroom teacher was competent? The second thing? The third thing? The fourth thing?
>
> What are the five most useful skills a Head Start teacher must have?

Questionnaire. CDA Competencies from the first five CDA Competency areas were operationalized for the purposes of the questionnaire in terms of behaviors, skills, and/or attributes which respondents would rate on 7-point scales ranging from Not Important to Very Important depending upon the extent to which they accepted the CDA competency criteria.

Research in education, as in the social sciences generally, is subject to bias based upon the Investigator's deep, unquestioned assumptions (Kagan, 1978; Bowles and Gintis, 1972-1973) which are part of the "culturally given taxonomy of human experience" (Strodtbeck, 1969:23-24). The competency criteria included in the questionnaire items represent only a subset of CDA competencies. That is, it was one of the deep, unquestioned assumptions of the I that cognitive-developmental facilitation competencies are central to the definition of a competent teacher. CDA competency area B is primarily concerned with this issue. Most Head Start evaluation and outcome measures test only for cognitive achievement. Based upon the assumption that teachers in all Head Start programs would also share these beliefs, cognitive-developmental items were for the most part omitted from the questionnaire.

After the structured interview was completed (ten minutes on the average), the respondents filled out the questionnaire which asked them to rank on a 1-7 Likert Scale from Not Important to Very Important, fifty-three skills, behaviors, and/or attributes which might characterize Head Start teachers. The interviewer read a sample question aloud to the respondents so that the grid might become more comprehensible, as follows: "How important is it for a competent Head Start teacher to _____?"

The identical procedure was followed in both locations. The only difference in administration of the instruments to the two samples consisted in the method of initial contact. Because of the organization of Boston Head Start, the permission of the Director of Educational Services of Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) was requested and granted. She in turn contacted the appropriate person at the individual Head Start centers, either the program director in some cases, or the education supervisor in others. The Investigator subsequently contacted these individuals to set up meetings with the teachers.

Because the I independently made all assignments of questionnaire items in an a priori fashion and because the instrument was not pretested, two tests of reliability were planned. First, an Education Supervisor of several Boston Head Start programs and an educational program evaluator from an independent educational consulting firm were asked to do a blind sort of the questionnaire items into the five CDA competency areas from which they were derived. Poor inter-sorter re-

liability may have resulted from the lack of linguistic comparability inherent in the CDA competency criteria wording and format, as indicated above. Second, a factor analysis, which would have yielded information about the appropriateness of the assignment of items into categories, was not conclusive owing to small sample size and consequent small number of data points. Tests of reliability (internal consistency) on each of Competency Factors A-E were carried out and the results of the analysis will be reported in the next chapter.

Respondents. The respondents were Head Start teachers in St. Croix and Boston. The St. Croix sample (n=12) consisted of the entire population of Head Start classroom teachers in St. Croix with the exception of one teacher who, because of her failure to keep two appointments, was omitted from the sample. The St. Croix respondents were Black and Puerto Rican women, with an average of approximately six years of experience working in Head Start. The Boston sample consisted of twelve Black and Puerto Rican men (one) and women (eleven) with approximately five years of Head Start work experience. The samples were matched closely for race and ethnicity. However, they differed in terms of organization and relationships to the Head Start administrative agency. In Boston, six teachers taught in separate classrooms under the roof of one center, while the other six consisted of three groups of two each who taught in three centers. Two of the centers were administered by neighborhood CAP agencies. The other two were under the direct control of the municipal agency (ABCD). In St. Croix, the teachers were distributed one to a center with the exception of one double center where two teachers each had a separate classroom. All the Head Start centers in St. Croix are in a direct relationship with the local Head Start agency, administered jointly by the Virgin Islands Department of Social Welfare and the Community Action Agency, including the Foster Grandparent program director and the director of Spanish Services.

In a discussion of interviewer-respondent communication problems, Brislin (1973) identifies a "racial difference bias" which affects interview results when interviewer and respondent are of different racial and/or ethnic groups (p. 72).* Such was indeed the case with I and respondents. While this issue should not be minimized, it must also be noted that virtually the whole body of field research in anthropology has been carried out in similar circumstances. A further parallel with anthropological research is that the I explicitly put herself in a classic anthropological posture of ignorance in relation to her expert informants in both groups of respondents. It was clearly stated by the I that the respondents were the experts in the field of Head Start classroom teaching and that administrators, supervisors, and federal evaluators did not generally have the on-the-job expertise which typically arises from classroom teaching experience. Respondents were also assured that no names would be used and that there were no "right" or "wrong" answers.

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* Brislin's example was taken from several reports of fieldwork in Africa, in settings where whites were a rare sight and were invariably associated with the ruling caste. In contrast, one of the most pronounced impressions of the I upon entering the Head Start classrooms both in Boston and St. Croix, was the ease with which the presence of the I was accepted in the classrooms, as if the respondents and the children were accustomed through long experience to having outside evaluators and visitors (white) in the classrooms.

Data Processing and Analysis.

Coding. Responses to the open-ended questions were reviewed. A content analysis of the data was performed to determine categories suitable for coding. Five response categories were abstracted from the data on "What would be the first, second, etc. thing you would look for?" For the purpose of validating these categories, review articles on observational and coding techniques in early childhood education and teaching research were searched for the existence of rating schemes which would lend themselves to the coding of the data (Gordon and Jester, 1973; Rivlin and Timpane, 1975; Rosenshine and Furst, 1973). The Bank Street Model Observation Checklist which was constructed by Anne Monaghan and Huron Institute staff for the Planned Variation Implementation Study (Lukas and Wohlleb, 1974) was found to consist of the same five categories which were derived from a content analysis of the data. Further validation of this coding scheme was obtained from four early childhood education experts from Huron Institute of Cambridge, Massachusetts, an independent education consulting firm, one faculty member of Wheelock College, which does much of the CDA training of Boston area Head Start teachers, and one graduate student at the University of Massachusetts School of Education. These coders were asked to perform a Q-sort of all responses into categories.

Statistical Tests. The following statistical tests were performed on the data from the questionnaire:

- Reliability coefficients were computed for Competency

Factors A-E, which represent the CDA competency areas derived from questionnaire responses. Very high inference items such as "Talks a lot," "Has deep religious beliefs," were omitted in the computation of these five indices. Also omitted were "Knows how to manage a budget" since the St. Croix Head Start program is administered in such a way as to make that item meaningless to many of the teachers (most said that item was irrelevant to their work); "Has artistic talent" and "Plays a musical instrument" were also omitted since most teachers indicated that these items were irrelevant to judgments of teacher competence. "Attends church regularly" and the sex and age items were omitted from the Factors for the same reasons;

- One-Way Analyses of Variance were computed for each of the five Competency Factors to detect variation in responses between Boston and St. Croix teachers on each Factor;
- Pearson correlation coefficients were computed to determine relative independence of the five competency Factors;
- Non-parametric rank order correlations were run on

the group means for each of the fifty-three questionnaire items by location to determine whether the St. Croix and Boston teachers ranked the questionnaire items differently.

The following tests were performed on the data obtained from the first open-ended question in the structured interview ("What would be the first/second/third/fourth thing you would look for . . . ?"):

- The raw data was coded into categories and
- Crosstabs were computed to detect between group differences specifically in relation to St. Croix and Boston teachers' responses of the first, second, third, and fourth things, respectively, they reported looking for in assessing Head Start teacher competence;
- Multiple response crosstabs were performed to determine whether the two groups of teachers tended to look for different things in assessing Head Start teacher competency, summarizing first, second, third, and fourth "Look for" responses into a total cross-tabulation by location;
- One-Way Analyses of Variance were also computed to detect any between-group differences in responses to the open-ended interview questions.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Thus far, this dissertation has addressed some of the conceptual issues surrounding teacher competence and has critically reviewed the body of literature pertinent to this topic as it relates to colonial education generally and to education in the Virgin Islands in particular. The preceding chapter described the basic outlines of an empirical study designed to illuminate specific aspects of the general topic under consideration. The empirical study was intended as an inquiry into the nature of such differences as might exist between Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers in their perceptions of teacher competency. This study is exploratory in character and as such, is based upon a relatively small sample. While in many respects the study is modest in scope, it is unique in that it draws upon data in an area which has not been previously studied from a cross-cultural perspective.

The analysis of questionnaire and interview responses was organized around a set of substantive questions concerning differences in perceptions of teacher competency in the two groups under investigation. In the present chapter, results will be systematically presented in relation to each of the following four questions:

1) Are there any significant differences between the two groups of teachers in their ratings of CDA competency areas?

2) Do the two groups of teachers attach different priorities to the five areas of teacher competence?

3) Do the two groups of teachers indicate that they would look for different types of information in making determinations of teacher competence?

4) Are there any relationships between background characteristics of teachers and perceptions of teacher competence?

Before proceeding with the presentation of results pertinent to each of the foregoing questions, some of the psychometric properties of the items employed to measure perceptions of teacher competency will first be examined. The items employed to measure perceptions of teacher competency are the single-item questionnaire variables combined into summary indices (or Factors) in an attempt to operationalize the CDA Competency Areas A through E. The preliminary question which must be answered with respect to the operationalization of these competency dimensions concerns the extent to which the measures of perceived competence used in the study are reliable and valid. Specifically, the question asks to what extent the measures used in the study meet conventional psychometric standards of reliability and validity.

Reliability Analysis. The analysis of reliability of measurement for this study makes use of the psychometric criterion of internal consistency. Internal consistency is the aspect of reliability most appropriate to the purposes and design of the study.* Analysis of the degree of internal consistency of measurement asks whether all the items in the index are measuring the same thing. The test of internal consistency employed Cronbach's alpha as a specific indicator of reliability of measurement.

Each of the five competency Factors A-E was independently subjected to reliability analysis. These Factors were derived from the first five CDA Competency Areas. Table 1 shows the distribution of single-item questionnaire variables grouped according to the CDA areas from which they were derived. The reliability analysis was conducted on these five Factors to assess the degree of internal consistency in each Factor. The standard used in the assessment of internal consistency was a Cronbach's alpha of .60.**

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* Another aspect of reliability refers to the stability of the data collected by the measuring instrument, determined on the basis of consistency of results on repeated application, or "test-re-test" reliability (Selltiz 1967:168). In the present study, each instrument of measurement was used to collect data from the two samples on a one-time basis only. Had the instruments been re-administered, it is possible that the results would have fluctuated from the first application of the measures to the second. Thus, in the absence of information regarding the stability of responses over time, caution should be exercised in interpreting the results presented below.

** This is a high, or conservative value, of Cronbach's alpha, in light of the small sample size.

Table 1. Questionnaire items grouped according to the CDA Factors from which they were derived.

Competency Factor A *	Competency Factor B *	Competency Factor C *	Competency Factor D *	Competency Factor E *
Variable Number	Variable Number	Variable Number	Variable Number	Variable Number
09 Keeps storage areas organized	07 Knows principles of child development	24 Encourages independence	22 Teaches children to share	28 Friendly
10 Has knowledge of first aid	08 Knows principles of good nutrition	25 Has self-confidence	27 Encourages team spirit	33 Interested in the individual parent
11 Observant	13 Teaches good grooming to children	30 Interested in the individual child	31 Keeps a quiet classroom	39 Sociable with parents
12 Keeps work and play areas clean	16 Is in good health	32 Individualizes instruction	38 Strict	45 Visits parents at home
14 Wears neat and proper attire	17 Knows a lot of classroom activities	34 Good listener	42 Enforces rules	46 Invites parents to classroom
15 Follows safety regulations	18 Is a good reader	35 Has frequent physical contact with children	44 Uses firm disciplinary measures	52 Same cultural background as children
	19 Energetic	37 Respects the child	47 Keeps class under control	
	20 Can diagnose learning disabilities	43 Encourages free expression	51 Permissive	
	21 Can diagnose physical disabilities			
	23 Takes class on trips			
	26 Uses correct language			

* CDA Competency Areas:

A - Sets up and maintains safe, healthy learning environment;
B - Advances physical and intellectual competence;
C - Builds positive self-concept in children;
D - Organizes and sustains positive functioning of children and adults in group;
E - Maintains optimal home-center coordination re: childrearing practices and expectations.

The results of the reliability analysis are reported in Table 2. Four of the five competency Factors thus analyzed achieved minimally acceptable levels of internal consistency, hence providing evidence in support of the conclusion that the constructs in question were reliably measured. In the single exception (Factor D), there appears to be evidence of considerable unreliability of measurement. A very low reliability coefficient, such as was obtained on Factor D (α = .04), indicates that the items constituting this Factor are not highly correlated with each other; that is, responses on one item within Factor D are not predictive of responses on other items within Factor D. Looking at the composition of Factor D, it is possible to advance an explanation for the low reliability coefficient obtained.

Table 2: Reliability Coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) of Competency Factors

Competency Factor	Reliability Coefficient
A	a = .60
B	a = .88
C	a = .75
D	a = .04
E	a = .64

It appears, upon examination of the composition of Factor D that this index may be unreliable because it is based in part on CDA competency area D, which is composed of four competencies, each of which relates to a different behavioral or attitudinal dimension. CDA Competency Area

D, labelled "Organize and sustain positive functioning of children and adults in a group in a learning environment," consists of the following competencies:

1. Plan the program of activities for the children to include opportunities for playing and working together and sharing experiences and responsibilities with adults in a spirit of enjoyment as well as for the sake of social development.

2. Create an atmosphere through example and attitude where it is natural and acceptable to express feelings both positive and negative: love, sympathy, pain, frustration, loneliness or anger.

3. Establish a reasonable system of limits, rules and regulations to be understood, honoured and protected by both children and adults, appropriate to the stage of development.

4. Foster acceptance and appreciation of cultural variety by children and adults as an enrichment of personal experience; develop projects that utilize cultural variation in the family population as resource for the educational program.

While each of the above competencies does indeed relate to the ability of a teacher to foster positive group functioning, the disparate nature of the elements included in the Competency area (sharing/emotional expressivity/setting of limits/acceptance of cultural variety) give Competency Area D a "grab-bag" quality not conducive to high reliability of measurement.

An inspection of the items included in the Factor D summary index indicates that they (variables used in the construction of this Factor) do not in fact refer to the same kinds of behavioral competencies. Variable 22 (Teaches children to share) and Variable 27 (Encourages team

spirit) describe aspects of the facilitation of group identification and cooperation in children which relate to the ability of the teacher to foster positive group functions. Other items included in Factor D relate to other aspects of group function. The low level of internal consistency of Factor D is probably related to the fact that the other variables (31: Keeps a quiet classroom; 38: Strict; 42: Enforces rules; 44: Uses firm disciplinary measures; 47: Keeps class under control; and 51: Permissive) all describe behaviors and attitudes which refer to the setting of limits and to the degree of teacher control of the group. These issues contrast with Variables 22 and 27, cited above, which describe the quality of child-child interaction in the context of the group setting. The limit-setting, discipline and control variables clearly dominate Factor D. These variables were chosen because it was hypothesized that cross-cultural differences would strongly discriminate between the two groups on these variables. This reasoning appears to have backfired in the case of the control-discipline variables. First, it must be acknowledged that assessment of discipline and control are typically very problematic, particularly in cross-cultural studies. The discipline and control items in Factor D are the ones about which both groups of teachers showed the most uncertainty and confusion. Several St. Croix teachers and one Boston teacher asked the I for a definition of "permissive" before writing an answer, thus suggesting problems with linguistic comparability discussed in the previous chapter. One Boston teacher struggled for some time with the question, and finally left that

blank. It also seems likely that Black teachers anywhere confronted with a White stranger asking for written information about the use of firm disciplinary measures with children would be ambivalent about responding. Such ambivalence may be particularly characteristic of the Cruzan sample. It has often been remarked (chiefly by white North American or European writers) that West Indians in general and Virgin Islanders in particular, are stricter and use harsher disciplinary measures with their children than would be acceptable according to the North American norm (Dalton, 1964; Kerr, 1952; Lewis, 1972; Weinstein, 1962).

Since reliability is a necessary precondition of construct validity, the results of further analysis involving Factor D should be approached with caution. Relationships between an unreliably measured construct (Factor D) and other constructs tend to be attenuated due to measurement error.

Discriminant Validity: Relative Independence of Factors. In order to assess the discriminant validity of the measures, the items in the instruments of measurement were examined to determine whether the items were tapping different and distinct (multidimensional) aspects of the domain of perceived competence, or a single and unitary (unidimensional) aspect of perceived competence. The approach taken was to compute Pearson correlations of the five competency Factors with each other and to examine the magnitude of the correlations between Factors. To the extent that Factors are perfectly correlated with each other (e.g., $r = .85$ and over), the implication would be that the measures employed in the study (the five competency Factors) do not discriminate between themselves, in which case the conceptualization and measurement of perceived competency as a multidimensional construct would be called into question. Table 3 presents the actual correlation coefficients and significance levels for the Pearson correlations between the five competency Factors. As anticipated, every Factor (with the single exception of the unreliable Factor D), is significantly correlated with every other Factor. An examination of the magnitude of the correlation coefficients, however, reveals that the highest correlation coefficient between any two Factors is .78. This suggests that while the amount of shared variance between Factors is considerable, the summary indices are not tapping identical responses. In short, there is sufficient evidence in these data of discriminant validity to justify the multidimensional approach to be taken in analysis of the data on perceptions of teacher competency.

Although the competency Factors are inter-correlated as expected, they are not so highly correlated as to render separate analysis redundant.

Table 3: Pearson Correlation Coefficients of Competency Factors A-E

n = 24 coefficient / significance

	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C	Factor D	Factor E
Factor A	1.000				
	.001				
Factor B	.7772	1.000			
	.001	.001			
Factor C	.6978	.6705	1.000		
	.001	.001	.001		
Factor D	.2400	.4056	.3200	1.000	
	.129	.025	.064	.001	
Factor E	.6251	.6113	.7967	.5163	1.000
	.001	.001	.001	.005	.001

In sum, it appears that with the possible exception of Factor D, the CDA competency areas have been appropriately operationalized. The results of the reliability analysis and the test of relative independence between Factors provide sufficient evidence that the Factors achieved minimally acceptable levels of reliability and validity to justify analysis of the substantive questions.

Between-Group Differences in Rating Competency Factors. The first substantive question about the nature of the differences in perceptions of teacher competency asks whether the two groups of teachers give different ratings to any of the CDA competency Factor(s). Results pertinent to this question are reported in Table 4. Table 4 shows the results of the one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) computed for each of the five competency Factors.

Analyses of Variance. One-way ANOVAs were computed on Competence Factors A-E to detect variation in responses between the two groups of teachers. The ANOVAs were performed with all the questionnaire items included in each of the competency factor scales (see Table 1). Results of these ANOVAs suggest that the two groups of teachers do give significantly different ratings of the importance of CDA competency Factors A (Sets up and maintains safe and healthy learning environment) and B (Advances physical and intellectual competence), at the $p < .04$ and .02 levels, respectively. These results are displayed in Table 4. They suggest that Head Start teachers in St. Croix were more likely than Head Start teachers in Boston to rate as very important items related to the development and maintenance of a safe and healthy learning environment and to the facilitation of physical and intellectual competence in children. It should also be noted that the direction of the difference between groups was consistent throughout. That is, St. Croix teachers gave consistently higher scores to items in all the competency Factors, but these differences are statistically sig-

Table 4. Results of Analysis of Variance of Competency Factors A - E.

Competency Factor	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Level of Significance
A (Total)	23	198.63		4.70	.04*
Between Group	1	35.04	35.04		
Within Group	22	163.58	7.44		
B (Total)	23	1,285.83		6.52	.02*
Between Group	1	294.00	294.00		
Within Group	22	991.83	45.08		
C (Total)	23	328.09		2.12	.16
Between Group	1	28.32	28.82		
Within Group	22	299.27	13.60		
D (Total)	23	393.65		.01	.91
Between Group	1	.24	.24		
Within Group	22	393.41	17.88		
E (Total)	23	1,039.33		.36	.56
Between Group	1	16.67	16.67		
Within Group	22	1,022.67	46.49		

nificant only with respect to competency Factors A and B, as indicated above.

The results of the ANOVAs give further support to the multidimensional nature of the competency Factors. The ANOVAs indicate that location significantly affects two of the five Factors, and not the other three. Were the five Factors unidimensional, the same effects of location on the five Factors would be expected to emerge.

Comparisons of Group Priorities. The second substantive question suggests another approach to the issue of between-group comparisons. Question two asks whether the two groups of teachers attach different priorities to the five areas of teacher competence. In an effort to answer this question, two sets of results of data analysis were examined: First, the rank ordering of the Factor group means; and second, rank order correlation of individual questionnaire items.

Rank Order of Group Means. The present section treats the examination of the rank ordering of the mean scores of each competency Factor separately for the two groups. Looking at the rank orders of Factor mean scores will help to determine whether Boston and St. Croix teachers agree on the relative importance of the competency Factors. The Factor means for each group are presented in Table 5. The comparison of the rank ordering of the Factor mean scores shown in Table 5 indicates that the two groups of teachers assign very similar relative priorities to the five CDA competency Factors. St. Croix and Boston teachers agreed that Factor E (Maintains optimal home-center coordination) represented the most important area of teacher competency and that Factor C (Builds positive self-concept in children) was next in importance. Both groups of teachers rated the items in Factor A (Sets up and maintains a safe and healthy learning environment) as third in priority order. St. Croix teachers rated the items in Factor B (Advances physical and intellectual competency) as fourth and Factor D (Organizes and sustains positive functioning of children and adults in

group) as fifth, or relatively least important. Boston teachers emphasized Factor D over Factor B, so that for the Boston sample, items associated with advancement of physical and intellectual competence of children were of lowest relative priority. It is noteworthy that the results of the rank ordering of Factor mean scores are consistent with the results of the ANOVAs which identified Factor B as one of the two areas in which St. Croix teachers differed significantly from the Boston teachers. The greatest differences between the two groups' Factor mean scores occur in Factors A and B. These differences are also consistent with the results of the ANOVAs, although the rank order does not reflect the magnitude of the St. Croix-Boston differences in Factor A. As noted earlier, the direction of the differences between the groups is consistent. St. Croix teachers give higher ratings than do Boston teachers to items in all competency areas.

Table 5: Group Competency Factor Mean Scores in Rank Order

Competency Factor	Rank Order		Means	
	St. Croix	Boston	St. Croix	Boston
A	3	3	6.56	6.15
B	4	5	5.36	4.72
C	2	2	6.64	6.36
D	5	4	5.08	5.06
E	1	1	6.86	6.58

The rank order of group Factor means provides an important footnote to the results of the ANOVAs. It should be noted that although statistically significant between-group differences emerge in the areas of competency concerning aspects of the learning environment and the physical and intellectual competence of children, these competency areas were not considered as relatively high priorities by either group of teachers. Both groups concurred in assigning relatively higher priorities to competencies associated with the maintenance of optimal home-center coordination (first) and the development of positive self-concept in children (second).

The rank ordering of group means was one of two sets of results of data analysis examined with respect to the second substantive question. The second set of results is presented in the next section on non-parametric rank order correlation of individual questionnaire items.

Non-Parametric Rank Order Correlation. The approach taken was to perform a non-parametric rank order correlation on all the fifty-three questionnaire items. This test provides an interesting confirmation of the results of the rank ordering of the Factor group means reported in Table 5. Table 6 gives the results of the non-parametric rank order correlation ($r = .88$, $p < .001$) and presents the comparative item listing in rank order from 1 to 20. The results indicate that overall, Boston and St. Croix teachers showed no significant differences in the way they rated the relative importance of the questionnaire items. These results are generally consistent with the results of the rank or-

dering of the Factor group means. An interesting finding appears in conjunction with the rank ordering of single-item variables. Although both groups of teachers indicated in the rank order of group means for summary indices that setting up and maintaining a safe and healthy learning environment was an only moderately important competency area (rank order third), both groups chose variables associated with that Factor (A) as first in rank importance in the single-item analysis. St. Croix put variable 15 (follows safety regulations) in first place and Boston teachers chose variable 11 (observant).

Table 6: Comparison of Rank Ordering of Questionnaire Items by Cruzan and Continental Head Start Teachers

St. Croix		Boston	
Rank	Variable Number	Rank	Variable Number
1	15	1	11
2	10,11,16,25,30,46	2	16,37
3	23,26,28,35,37	3	43
4	07,08,22,32,33,34,43	4	15
5	14,19,20,21,24,27	5	30
6	12,17,18	6	97,10,25,26
7	45	7	24,28,47
8	09	8	34,35
9	34	9	22
10	47	10	27,46
11	13	11	12
12	42	12	18
13	44	13	17,23
14	48	14	33
15	29	15	09,19
16	31	16	42
17	51	17	14,20,32
18	36	18	21
19	40	19	08
20	38	20	13

$r = .88$ $p < .001$

The results thus far presented indicate that four of the five competency Factors (Table 1) possess internal consistency (Table 2) and discriminant validity (Table 3). They further suggest that the two groups of teachers do differ significantly in their perceptions of teacher competency in the areas represented by Competency Factors A and B, based on one-way ANOVAs (Table 4). Other results indicate that the Boston and St. Croix teachers show a high degree of consensus in their assignment of relative priorities to the five competency Factors (Tables 5 and 6). Having thus examined some of the differences between and similarities in the two groups of teachers with respect to rating the summary indices and comparative rank priorities, we may proceed to a consideration of the results of analysis of the responses to the open-ended questions.

Analysis of Responses to Open-Ended Questions. Open-ended questions included in the interview part of the data collection process elicited verbal responses which were subsequently content analyzed and coded. The data collected in the interviews in response to the first open-ended question are pertinent to substantive question three, which asks whether the two groups of teachers report that they would look for different types of information in making determinations of teacher competency.

Results pertinent to the third substantive question are reported as follows: First, the results of a crosstabulation of location (St. Croix-Boston) with responses to the first open-ended question are discussed.* This question was made up of four sub-questions, so that four crosstabs were carried out: One each for "What would be the first/second/third and fourth thing you would look for upon entering a classroom to determine teacher competency?" Tables 7 and 8 give two nearly identical versions of one of these crosstabs, that of location by responses to "What would be the first thing you would look for. . . ?" Next are presented the results of an ANOVA of the responses of teachers in the two groups to the "What would be the first thing you would look for?" question. Table 9 shows the results of the ANOVA. Finally, a multiple response test was carried out to provide a summary crosstabular analysis

* The use of crosstabs in testing for between group differences with this data was deemed most appropriate because the dependent measures (categories generated from respondents' responses) are discrete (categorical) rather than continuous.

of all the responses to each of the four sub-questions taken together. The results of this summary crosstab are shown in Table 10.

Coding. In order to test for between-group differences in responses to the first open-ended question, it was first necessary to develop a coding scheme. The responses were coded into the following categories: 1 = Children's behaviors and activities; 2 = Teachers behaviors and attributes; 3 = Teacher-child interaction and relationships; 4 = Teacher affect and socio-emotional climate; and 5 = Environment and materials. The five response categories were adapted from the Bank Street Model Observation Checklist (Lukas and Wohlleb, 1974). The reliability of this coding system was confirmed by six early childhood education experts from Wheelock College (1), the University of Massachusetts Graduate School of Education (1), and the Huron Institute of Cambridge, Massachusetts (4). Agreement was generally high. Intercoder agreement averaged 85.12%, ranging from a low of 70% (Category four) to a high of 100% (Category five). Where there was less than 67% agreement on any single response item, that response was coded as missing data and thus was dropped from the category in the analysis of data. The statistical tests were run both with and without these few low-agreement items, with negligible change in results. Table 7 gives an example of a crosstabulation run with the low-agreement items dropped from the data; Table 8 shows results of the same test conducted with these items included. Chi square values are 5.14 (df = 4) in the test run with the low-agreement items dropped from the data and 5.01

(df = 4) in the same test repeated with all responses included. The respective levels of significance were $p < .27$ and $p < .29$.

Crosstabulations ("Look For by Location"). Respondents were asked what would be the first/second/third and fourth things they would look for upon entering a Head Start classroom to determine whether the teacher of that class were competent. A crosstabulation by location of the first, second, third, and fourth responses to the question showed no significant differences in the categories chosen by respondents. Several trends were noted, however, which were subsequently confirmed by analysis of variance and summary analysis of these responses. Tables 7 and 8 give the results of the first "Look For" by "Location" cross-tab. Differences between the two groups are most pronounced in categories 1 and 5, although the differences are not statistically significant ($p < .29$). St. Croix teachers tended to look primarily for factors relating to the behavior of the children (Category one) in a classroom to determine whether the classroom teacher were competent (St. Croix: Boston = 2:0) while Boston teachers showed a decided tendency to cite environmental factors (Category five) as the first object of attention in a classroom observation (Boston:St. Croix = 5:1).

Analysis of Variance. An analysis of variance of the responses of teachers in the two groups to the "What would you look for?" questions amplified the crosstabular results and indicated that the two groups differ significantly ($p < .08$) only in their responses to "What would be the first thing you would look for?" (It is worth noting that

Table 7. Crosstabulation of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers' response frequencies by five categories to the question "What would be the first thing you would look for to determine teacher competence?" *

n
Row percent
Total percent

	St. Croix	Boston	Row Total
Category 1**	2 100.0 9.1	0 0 0	2 9.1
2	2 50.0 9.1	2 50.0 9.1	4 18.2
3	4 57.1 18.2	3 42.9 13.6	7 31.8
4	2 66.7 9.1	1 33.3 4.5	3 13.6
5	1 16.7 4.5	5 83.3 22.7	6 27.3
Column Total	11 50.0	11 50.0	22 100.0

$X^2 = 5.14$ df = 4 $p < .27$

* Responses with low inter-coder agreement scored as missing values.

**Category labels:

1 = Children's behavior and activities

2 = Teacher's behavior and attributes

3 = Teacher-child interaction and relationships

4 = Teacher affect and socioemotional climate

5 = Environment and materials

Table 8. Crosstabulation of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers' response frequencies by five categories to the question "What would be the first thing you would look for to determine teacher competence?"

n
Row percent
Total percent

	St. Croix	Boston	Row Total
Category 1*	2 100.0 8.3	0 0 0	2 8.3
2	2 50.0 8.3	2 50.0 8.3	4 16.7
3	4 57.1 16.7	3 42.9 12.5	7 29.2
4	3 60.0 12.5	2 40.0 8.3	5 20.8
5	1 16.7 4.2	5 83.3 20.8	6 25.0
Column Total	12 50.0	12 50.0	24 100.0

$X^2 = 5.01$ df = 4 $p < .29$

*Category labels:

1 = Children's behavior and activities

2 = Teacher's behavior and attributes

3 = Teacher-child interaction and relationships

4 = Teacher affect and socioemotional climate

5 = Environment and materials

statistical significance is a function of sample size. In light of small sample size in this study, differences significant at the .10 level of probability may be considered statistically "significant.") Table 9 gives the results of the ANOVA, which bears out the trends noted above, for Boston teachers to emphasize environmental factors first, and for St. Croix teachers to look first at the behavior of the children. Although Boston-St. Croix differences are most pronounced in these two categories, the greatest number of St. Croix teachers indicated that their first response would be to look for aspects of the teacher-child interactions (Category three), while the greatest number of Boston teachers reported that they would look first at environmental factors (Category five).

Table 9: Results of Analysis of Variance between Cruzan and Continental Head Start Teachers' Responses to "What would be the first thing you would look for in assessing competence of a Head Start classroom teacher?" (Var = Lookfor, X1)

Variable	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Significance Level
Lookfor, X1					
Total	23	37.63		3.40	.08
Between Groups	1	5.04	5.04		
Within Groups	22	32.58	1.48		

Summary Crosstabular Analysis. This tendency for Cruzan teachers to look first at the children's behavior and Boston teachers to look first at the physical environment of the classrooms, just missed reaching the .10 level of significance in the summary analysis of all responses to the four "Look For" questions. Table 10 gives the summary crosstabulation of all responses to the question "What would you look for?" without regard to whether the response was given first, second, third, or fourth. Again, differences between the two groups were most pronounced in Categories one and five, indicating that the St. Croix teachers tended to report that they would look first at what the children are doing in a classroom to determine teacher competence (St. Croix: Boston = 14:5), while Boston teachers reported that they would be more likely to turn their attention first to the classroom environment and materials (Boston:St. Croix = 16:10) ($\chi^2 = 6.18$, $p > .10$).

Table 10. Summary crosstabular analysis of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers' responses to the question "What would you look for to determine teacher competence?"

n
Row percent
Total percent

	St. Croix	Boston	Row Total
Category 1*	14 73.7 58.3	5 26.3 20.8	19 79.2
2	6 42.9 25.0	8 57.1 33.3	14 58.3
3	9 45.0 37.5	11 55.0 45.8	20 83.3
4	9 52.9 37.5	8 47.1 33.3	17 70.8
5	10 38.5 41.7	16 61.5 66.7	26 108.3
Column Total	12 50.0	12 50.0	24 100.0

$X^2 = 6.18$ df = 4 $p > .10$

*Category labels:

1 = Children's behavior and activities

2 = Teacher's behavior and attributes

3 = Teacher-child interaction and relationships

4 = Teacher affect and socioemotional climate

5 = Environment and materials

Effects of Teachers' Background Characteristics. Data were collected on some background characteristics of teachers, including the number of years of work experience in Head Start (in any position), the number of years of work as teachers (in present position), and the number of years of schooling. These data are pertinent to substantive question four, which asks about the relationships between the background characteristics of the teachers and their perceptions of teacher competence. The approach taken was to compute Pearson correlation coefficients for each of the background characteristics listed above, with location and each of the competency Factors A through E. The results of this test are shown in Table 11. While inspecting the results shown in Table 11 for evidence of the effects of background characteristics on competency Factor scores, it should be noted that the two groups of teachers themselves varied with respect to the background characteristics under examination. That is, although the samples were closely matched on the variables of sex, race, ethnicity, and years of Head Start work experience,* they tended to vary on two of the background characteristics included in the data collection. St. Croix teachers tended to have spent more years in their present positions as Head Start teachers ($p < .04$) and Boston teachers tended to have gone further in

* Sex: St. Croix - 12 women; Boston - 11 women, 1 man/
Race and ethnicity: St. Croix - 10 Blacks, 2 Puerto Ricans; Boston - 11 Blacks, 1 Puerto Rican/
Years of Head Start experience: St. Croix - 6 years; Boston - 5 years.

Table 11. Pearson Correlation of teacher background characteristics with location and competency Factors A-E (n = 24).

Coefficient Significance	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C	Factor C	Factor E	Location	Yrs of H/S Work	Yrs in Position	Schooling
Factor A	1.000 .001								
Factor B	.7772 .001	1.000 .0001							
Factor C	.6978 .001	.6705 .001	1.000 .001						
Factor D	.2400 .129	.4056 .025	.3200 .064	1.000 .001					
Factor E	.6251 .001	.6113 .001	.7967 .001	.5163 .005	1.000 .001				
Location	-.4200 .021	-.4782 .009	-.2964 .080	-.0247 .454	-.1266 .278	1.000 .001			
Yrs of H/S Work	.0735 .366	.0059 .489	.3314 .057	.1007 .320	.2160 .155	0 .500	1.000 .001		
Yrs in Position	.3297 .058	.2448 .124	.4260 .019	.0788 .357	.3709 .037	-.3644 .040	.6686 .001	1.000 .001	
Schooling	-.2114 .161	-.1230 .284	-.0694 .374	-.0405 .425	-.1112 .302	.4154 .022	-.0077 .486	.0983 .324	1.000 .001

school ($p < .02$).

The mean number of years of formal schooling was thirteen years, five months in Boston and twelve years in St. Croix. This finding was predicted by the Acting Education Supervisor of St. Croix Head Start, who further suggested that the between-group differences in perceptions of teacher competence would in fact be associated with the relatively greater exposure to formal education of Boston teachers. She also suggested that teachers would emphasize as desirable, teacher characteristics which coincided with their own strengths. Thus, she predicted that St. Croix teachers who as a group are presumably less confident of their reading and writing skills than more highly educated Boston teachers, would tend to rate items related to these skills lower in comparison with Boston teachers. The results of the Factor Score ANOVAs reported above belie this prediction. Although Factor B (advances physical and intellectual competence) had the highest standard deviation of any of the competency Factors, this was one of the two areas to which St. Croix teachers gave significantly higher ratings of importance than did Boston teachers. A final prediction concerning between-group differences in exposure to formal education was that teachers with less schooling would tend to conform more closely to standards of social desirability while teachers with more schooling would tend to be more individualistic in their assessments of teacher competence.

St. Croix teachers averaged six years, 2½ months in their present positions and Boston teachers averaged three years, eleven months.

Pearson correlations indicated that respondents with more experience as Head Start teachers tended to give significantly higher ratings to the items in Competency Factor C (builds positive self-concept in children) and E (maintains optimal home-center coordination) ($p < .02$ and $< .04$, respectively). These results are, in some respects, consistent with the results obtained from the analyses of data reported above. The earlier analyses of data (Table 5) suggested that St. Croix teachers gave highest ratings of importance to Competency Factors E (maintains optimal home-center coordination) and C (builds positive self-concept in children). Then the Pearson correlations of background characteristics with location and with Competency Factors A through E indicated that the St. Croix group tended to have spent more years as Head Start teachers than the Boston group (Table 11). Thus the Pearson correlations confirm that it is the St. Croix teachers, distinguished from Boston teachers by their significantly greater amount of time spent as Head Start teachers, who gave significantly higher ratings to competencies associated with home-center coordination and building the positive self-concept of the children.

The question must be raised, however, whether the fact of significantly longer experience as Head Start teachers is in some way related to the emphasis of the Cruzan group on home-center and self-concept competencies. Alternatively, the emphasis by Cruzan teachers on these areas might be associated with other factors independently of the fact that the Cruzan group happens, for administrative, demographic,

economic, or other reasons, to be characterized by greater staying power as Head Start teachers. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the significant findings of the Pearson correlations with background characteristics occur in areas (C and E) other than those which were found to be significantly different with respect to location in the ANOVAs (A and B). In other words, the results of the ANOVAs (Table 4) indicated that higher scores on competencies associated with Factors A and B were related to location, while the results of Pearson correlations with background characteristics suggest that amount of experience is related to higher scores in competencies associated with Factors C and E.

Finally, it should be noted that both St. Croix and Boston groups gave highest relative priority rankings to Competency Factors E and C (Table 5) but that St. Croix teachers, perhaps as a function of the response bias mentioned in the previous chapter demonstrated consistently higher ratings than Boston teachers on all Factors; however, this trend was statistically significant only in the case of Factors A and B.

Other Results. After reviewing the evidence for internal consistency and discriminant validity of the Competency Factor constructs, results of the test for between-group differences on the summary indices were presented. Rank order correlation of the single-item questionnaire variables appeared, upon analysis, to be generally consistent with the results of the rank ordering of Factor group means. In addition to analysis of questionnaire data, responses to the interview questions were coded and analyzed. The results indicated that the two groups of teachers reported that they would tend to look for different criteria in assessing teacher competency. Specifically, St. Croix teachers reported that they would tend to look first at the activities and behaviors of the children in the classroom, while Boston teachers indicated that they would tend to look first at the classroom environment (Tables 7-10). Finally, effects of teachers' background characteristics were presented in relation to teacher competency Factor scores. Other data were collected in the course of the research, but were not subjected to statistical analysis. These data are presented in the following two sections.

Structured Interview: "Essential Skills" Question. The structured interview consisted primarily of two questions. The first, which was discussed earlier in this chapter, asked teachers to indicate the first, second, third, and fourth things they would look for in making a determination about teacher competency based on their impressions in an imagined classroom observation. The second asked respondents to identify as many as they could (up to five) of the most basic,

useful skills which a Head Start teacher would have to have in order to be considered competent. Preliminary content analysis of the responses to the second question, preparatory to developing an appropriate coding system, revealed that a large proportion of responses (over 33%) did not refer to skills per se but to personal and affective qualities. Furthermore, a manual tabulation of the responses suggested that this tendency was shared by both groups of teachers. The fact that both Cruzan and Continental groups felt that essential skills for Head Start teachers comprised capacities in the affective domain, is consistent with the notion that ratings or assessments of teachers of preschool children must include data on the personality, attitudes, and belief system of the teachers, more so than would be required of teachers of older children, according to the preponderance of classroom studies on teacher variables (Gordon and Jester, 1973). The responses of both groups of teachers, then, were characterized by a high degree of concern with personal relationships between teachers and children and with the ability to communicate in a personal way with children. These responses do not coincide with the CDA behavioral criteria of demonstrated competence. In fact, the CDA competency areas include only one competency, out of more than forty (two in area D), which mentions the affective behaviors of the teacher:

> Create an atmosphere through example and attitude where it is natural and acceptable to express feelings both positive and negative: love, sympathy, enthusiasm, pain, frustration, loneliness, or anger.

Table 12. First and second essential skills cited by Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers.

Respondent Number	St. Croix First Skill	St. Croix Second Skill	Boston First Skill	Boston Second Skill
1	Ability to help kids solve their problems	Ability to listen to children	Personality	Ability to relate well to children
2	Affection	Fair to all	Uses language correctly	Gears vocabulary so children understand
3	Caring	Treats children as individuals	Reading readiness	Increases kids' awareness of surroundings
4	Likes children	Tolerant within limits	Can work with kids individually	Patience
5	Relates clearly to children	Can evaluate kids where they are	Previous experience with children	Patience
6	Can provide a challenge for children	Flexible	Likes children	Knowledgeable
7	Able to work with kids from early age	Aware of different backgrounds and needs	Aware of each child's needs	Able to assess children at start of each year
8	Likes to be with children	Has good relationship with kids	Ability to relate to children	Can work well with all kids
9	Kind and nice	Kids feel at home	Presents projects so kids understand	Communicates well with all kids
10	Patience	Knows what to do with children	Not in it for the money	Open
11	Communicates well with kids and adults	Respects rights of others	Loves and likes children	Concerned with what children learn
12	Gets children to follow simple directions	-	Likes and respects children	Understands kids

Table 12 compares the list of Essential Head Start teacher skills cited first and second by both groups of teachers.

Summary. The presentation of the results of the analysis of data was organized around a set of four substantive questions. The results reported in the present chapter indicate that some statistically significant between-group differences in perceptions of desirable teacher characteristics were found with respect to three of the four substantive questions if the level of probability for statistical significance is given as $p < .10$ and with respect to two of the four substantive questions if $p < .05$.

What follows is a summary of the statistically significant differences presented in relation to each of the four substantive questions:

1. Are there any significant differences between the two groups of teachers in their ratings of CDA competency areas?

1(a). St. Croix teachers gave significantly higher ratings of importance to items associated with the teacher's ability to set up and maintain a safe and healthy learning environment (Factor A) than did Boston teachers ($p < .04$);

1(b). St. Croix teachers gave significantly higher ratings of importance to items associated with the teacher's ability to advance the physical and intellectual competence of the children (Factor B) than did the Boston teachers ($p < .02$).

Between-group differences were not statistically significant for items associated with teachers' ability to build positive self-concept in children (Factor C) nor for items associated with teachers' ability to maintain optimal home-center coordination (Factor E). As expected, there were no statistically significant between-group differences related to the unreliably constructed Factor D.

2. Do the two groups of teachers attach different priorities to the five areas of teacher competence?

The results indicated that the two groups of teachers showed a high degree of consensus in their assignment of relative priorities to the five areas of teacher competence.

3. Do the two groups of teachers indicate that they would look for different types of information in making determinations of teacher competence?

3(a). St. Croix teachers were more likely than Boston teachers to report that they would look first at the behaviors and activities of the children in the context of a classroom observation to determine teacher competence ($p < .08$);

3(b). Boston teachers were more likely than St. Croix teachers to report that they would look first at various aspects of the physical environment of the classroom in making a determination of teacher competence ($p < .08$).

It should be noted that these differences are significant at the $p < .08$ level, and refer only to those categories of items which

teachers reported they would initially look for to determine teacher competence.

4. Are there any relationships between background characteristics of teachers and perceptions of teacher competence?

4(a). The St. Croix group had a significantly greater number of years of experience as Head Start classroom teachers than the Boston group ($p < .04$);

4(b). The Boston teachers had a significantly greater number of years of formal education than St. Croix teachers ($p < .02$);

4(c). Teachers with more experience as Head Start classroom teachers gave significantly higher ratings of importance to items associated with the teacher's ability to build children's positive self-concept ($p < .02$) and to maintain optimal home-center coordination ($p < .04$).

It should be noted that findings reported in 4(a) and 4(b) indicate between-group differences on socio-demographic variables, without respect to differences in perceptions of teacher competence. Findings reported in 4(c) do relate the teacher background characteristic of Head Start classroom teaching experience to perceptions of desirable teacher characteristics. It is not possible to conclude from these data, however, that longevity in Head Start classroom teaching is predictive of higher ratings on items associated with teachers' ability to build children's positive self-concept (Factor C) or to maintain optimal home-center coordination (Factor E). The fact that these differences ap-

peared may simply reflect the socio-demographic between-group differences cited in 4(a). A larger sample would permit investigation of within-group differences on this variable in order, for example, to detect Factor score differences between Boston teachers with more and less experience as Head Start classroom teachers.

The significance of the results reported above will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

It was the broad purpose of the present study to explore the probability that the performance standards of an education program characterized as colonial in several respects would be similarly perceived in different cultural settings. Specifically, it was the purpose of the empirical part of the study to detect differences in the perceptions of teacher competence in Head Start teachers in two cultural settings. The null hypothesis was that no significant differences would occur in perceptions of teacher competence of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers. Despite the methodological limitations of the study, some significant differences were found in the perceptions of teacher competence of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers. Because of the methodological limitations of the study, however, the data are problematic. As a result, it is not possible to determine whether or not the findings represent the one of the five times out of a hundred (at the $p < .05$ level of significance) that between-group differences might have appeared by chance. In other words, on the basis of these data, the differences obtained in the analysis of data neither provide sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis, nor to accept it. Nevertheless, further inferences as to the existence and significance of between-group differences may be drawn by examining evidence in the literature and impressionistic data.

It was originally anticipated, however, that the null hypothesis would be supported by the analysis of data. This expectation was based upon a number of methodological and substantive rationales which were identified during the course of the research. Several of the methodological rationales in question were discussed in Chapter IV. It was anticipated, for example, that the effects of the response bias by which both groups of teachers tended to give high ratings of importance to all questionnaire items, would result in similar scores for both samples. It is well known that small sample size is related to the probability of accepting the null hypothesis when it is false (Type II error), and that the larger the sample size, the greater the probability of rejecting a false null hypothesis (Siegel, 1956:10-11). It was thus assumed that the small sample size in this study might tend to reduce the power of the statistical tests to detect significant differences between the two groups.

Another methodological issue--linguistic equivalence--refers to the fact that the CDA competencies were written in the so-called Standard English dialect (Labov, 1972) and the instruments of measurement based on these competencies were constructed and administered in this form. It was assumed that these facts could have limited the power of the instruments to detect between-group differences: Neither group in the study consisted of a majority of speakers of the Standard English dialect used by the I. It may be assumed that members of both linguistic groups (Boston Black English Vernacular and Cruzan Caribbean Creole) typically adopt

similar test-situation reponse sets when confronted with a written test in a Standard English dialect administered by a White speaker of Standard English.

A final methodological issue was a matter of considerable concern during the course of the field study, in the context of the results of the other channels of inquiry through which the study was conducted. It was acknowledged that a racial and/or status response bias may well have been operant, but that the I assumed the classical anthropological posture of non-judgmental ignorance in relation to the expert informants. Assurance of anonymity was also given. Another element inherent in the "classic anthropological posture" concerns the political position of the social researcher in a particular social context. This relationship is spelled out by Gutkind, according to whom the anthropological endeavor typically occurs in a colonial milieu:

> Indeed, most of us . . . realized that our research was carried out under the protective umbrella of colonial administrations and their officers; anthropologists were, Maquet writes, 'not assimilated into the African layer of the (colonial) society. They were members of the white minority' (p. 48). Upon arrival in an African country, the anthropologist was well advised to clear his credentials and objectives first with the local European administrative officer, who then introduced him to the local chief, elders, council members, or other community leaders. While few anthropologists considered this an ideal introduction to a community about which they knew little as yet, they had little choice but to accept the authority of the colonial administration. It was this authority which, initially at least, structured the relationship between the anthropologist and his informants and created the social distance between the 'white' anthropologist and his 'African' informants (1969:21).

While the Black communities of Roxbury-North Dorchester and the South End are not as clearly in a colonial relation to mainstream U.S. culture as are the communities of St. Croix, the process by which the I gained access to both groups of teachers was very similar to the process described above. The I was introduced to the individual Head Start teachers (St. Croix) or to the individual Head Start center directors (Boston) by the Continental Education Supervisor in St. Croix or the Director of Educational Services of the delegate agency in Boston. Both the Supervisor in St. Croix and the Director in Boston are Black, but they are nevertheless likely to be perceived by teachers as closely associated in function with local administrative authority, with the federal funding agency, with the process of assessing compliance with agency standards--in short, with the power structure which ultimately controls program funding and thus, continued livelihood. Although, as part of the introductory statement to every respondent, the I made a disclaimer of the superior knowledge and authority of administrators and federal agency representatives, it is obvious that an official "party line" (an awareness of the expected performance criteria and attitudes of a competent CDA) exists. Indeed, these criteria are standardized--promulgated in identical wording and format to all Head Start programs in all the states and territories; in addition, all the teachers have attended workshops conducted by specialists from the federal regional offices. To the extent that these expectations have been communicated to all Head Start teachers, it seemed likely that both groups of teachers might tend to gear their responses to the official rubric of CDA competency criteria. Specifically,

it was speculated that the association of the I with the Head Start administrative agency and thus, indirectly, with the federal funding agency and power structure, might promote the tendency on the part of respondents to give similar authority-directed or standardized responses.

In addition to the methodological issues cited above, two substantive rationales were identified as potentially predictive of the null hypothesis that no significant differences would be found between the two groups in the study of perceived teacher competence.

Based upon years of personal experience as a participant observer living and working in Boston and St. Croix, it was clear to the Investigator before the inception of the study that teacher behaviors in the two settings were widely divergent. This impression was re-confirmed during the course of the present research. It was anticipated, however, that verbal responses of values expressed in the form of perceptions of desirable teacher characteristics might not reflect this difference, since expressed attitudes tend to be unrelated to overt behaviors, according to most empirical studies (Wicker, 1969:65). More to the point of the present research, Reichenberg-Hackett's study of nursery school teachers of different race and socio-economic status, indicated that "theoretically expressed attitudes (PARI scale) did not differentiate teachers, but in their concrete behaviors they differed widely" (1962: 160). Although the phenomenon of attitude-behavioral inconsistency was not the focus of the study, it was suspected that no significant differences would emerge between the two groups of teachers in their ex-

pressed perceptions of teacher competence, following Reichenberg-Hackett's findings that theoretically expressed attitudes did not discriminate between teachers of different racial and socio-economic status, even though their concrete behaviors were observably different.

This first rationale for predicting an absence of significant between-group differences is based on a turnabout of the phenomenon of attitude-behavioral inconsistency. Ordinarily, this phenomenon refers to the fact that most studies show that reported attitudes are not predictive of actual behaviors. Conversely, in this instance, the prediction of the null hypothesis was based on the assumption that observed behaviors might not be predictive of reported attitudes. This rationale assumes that differing behaviors reflect differing underlying values and attitudes, even though reported attitudes may neither reflect this difference nor bear statistically significant relationships with actual behaviors.

The second substantive rationale bases the prediction of the null hypothesis on the speculation that differences in values and attitudes in the context of the culture of schooling, may in fact not exist at all. This speculation is based on evidence presented in Chapter III for the very effective process of Americanization through the educational enterprise made available to subcultural minority groups. It was suggested that the education system in the colonial milieu is a bastion of the values of the American mainstream, and thus, the elite. Arguably, the samples of Head Start teachers can be thought of as belonging to an

elite, certainly with respect to their (by definition poverty-level) client groups, and especially now in light of the strong pressures through the CDA program to "professionalize" the status of the Head Start teacher.

This second rationale would thus admit of the possibility that the American culture of schooling is a homogenous culture. The relevant implication for the present research is that two cultures were not in fact studied. Instead, because of the effective, long-term cross-cultural "treatment" of Americanization through education, coupled with the fact that the perceptions which were the dependent measures in the study are related to educational attitudes, the object of the study may perhaps have been a single American culture of schooling--expressed in the similar perceptions of desirable teacher characteristics by teachers in two locations.

In light of the methodological and substantive reasons for predicting the null hypothesis that no significant between-group differences would emerge in this study of perceived competence in Head Start teachers, it was somewhat surprising to find instead a modest array of significant results. As noted earlier, it is not possible to conclude, solely on the basis of these results, that the null hypothesis should be rejected. By the same token, as Selltiz remarks, there is an inverse relationship between the likelihood of making Type I and Type II errors in drawing conclusions on the basis of statistical tests. That is, "the more we protect ourselves against the risk of making a Type I error

(. . . the less likely we are to conclude that two populations differ when in fact they do not), the more likely /417/ we are to make a Type II error (. . . to fail to recognize population differences which actually exist)" (1967:417-418). Thus, it is equally inadvisable to conclude on the basis of these results that the null hypothesis should be accepted. With the understanding then that firm conclusions may not be drawn solely on the basis of the findings of the empirical study, an interpretation of these findings may be advanced. The findings of the empirical study may appropriately be interpreted using, again, both a methodological and a substantive approach.

The methodological approach is preferred in the treatment of the significant differences obtained in the ANOVAs of the five summary indices. The question which is relevant to the interpretation of these findings from a methodological point of view asks why between-group significant differences were obtained for Factors A and B and not for C and E (excluding for the purposes of discussion, the unreliable Factor D)? Referring back to Table 5, which shows the rank order of factor group means, Factors C and E are seen to occupy the top two positions for both groups. The plausible explanation, and one which fits with the methodological issue of response bias cited above, is that limitations of the measuring instrument resulted in a "ceiling effect." That is, partly because of the use of the 7-point scale to measure questionnaire responses and partly because of the social desirability effect which made it difficult for respondents to admit that any of the items listed might be

unimportant, responses were clustered at the top or the "ceiling" of the scale. If, as Selltiz indicates, the reliability of a scale increases as the number of possible alternative responses is increased (p. 368), then increasing the number of possible alternative responses to 9 or 11, for example, might have resulted in a less skewed distribution. Given the limitations of the levels of measurement the Likert scale can provide, however, and given the social desirability element mentioned above, it seems likely that a Q-sort forced choice technique might have yielded a wider response distribution.

The operation of the "ceiling effect" on Factors C and E suggests that it might be most appropriate to approach the interpretation of between-group difference overall, or in general, rather than attempting to attribute a particular meaning or importance to individual items or clusters of items in Factors A or B. The meaning of the ceiling effect for the interpretation of the data then is that since significant differences were obtained between groups on Factors A and B, and since both groups gave highest ratings to Factors C and E, thus reflecting a ceiling effect, it follows that significant cross-cultural differences in perceptions of teacher competence exist for all factors, but that such differences may have been masked in the case of Factors C and E through the operation of the ceiling effect.

Further evidence for the supposition of cross-cultural differences in the perceptions of teacher competence of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers was found in the responses given by the two groups to the

open-ended questions. There are several plausible substantive interpretations of these results.

The leading observation in a substantive discussion of responses of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers to the open-ended interview question must be that the results appear to be precisely the opposite of what one would predict based on previous research in this field. Kerlinger's studies on the relation between educational attitudes or values and perceptions of desirable teacher characteristics conclude that "progressivism and traditionalism are the unities underlying the domain of educational attitudes or philosophies and of perceived teacher traits" (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1967:i). Teachers who have "progressive" philosophies of education tend to perceive "person-oriented" traits as desirable for effective teachers while teachers characterized by "traditional" educational values choose "task-oriented" traits as desirable, according to the Kerlinger research (Kerlinger, 1963, 1966, 1967). By most accounts in the literature, Virgin Islands parents and teachers are described as authoritarian and punitive (Fill, 1963:4), repressive (Dalton, 1964), and as arbitrary disciplinarians (Weinstein, 1962). Children are invariably perceived by parents and teachers as "rude," "bad," and "disgusting," including children who are not noticeably independent or rebellious by stateside standards. The ideal Virgin Islands child is docile, neat, obedient, quiet, and decorous (Weinstein, 1962; Green, 1972). A commentator on the corresponding situation in the British Caribbean says that the West Indian child-rearing goal is the

Victorian behavior model (Kerr, 1952). This cultural stereotype of adult attitudes and behaviors towards children may safely be characterized as "traditional" as opposed to "progressive." Yet it is the St. Croix teachers who, in response to the question "What would be the first thing you would look for upon entering a classroom, to determine teacher competence?" tended to report that they would look first for children's behaviors and activities and teacher-child relationships--certainly "person-oriented" perceptual factors. In contrast, although there is no clear evidence to justify characterizing the Boston teachers as "progressive" rather than "traditional," they are, as a group, better educated than Cruzan teachers and live in a large urban, highly cosmopolitan, cultural center; these teachers report that they would look first for aspects of the physical environment in assessing teacher competence--certainly a "task" as opposed to a "person-oriented" perceptual factor. In the absence of between-group comparisons on attitude inventories to provide a measure for "progressive" or "traditional" educational values, these observations must be regarded as impressionistic.

This discussion began with the observation that the results of the analysis of responses to the open-ended interview question are the reverse of what would be predicted from theory. This observation implies that a contradiction exists which begs of resolution. It must be noted, however, that the presumed contradiction is predicated upon theory, and the theory based upon research which, although elegant, is culturally circumscribed. Kerlinger tested his hypothesis that perceptions of the

characteristics of competent teachers are influenced by the judges' educational attitudes and values by administering a series of instruments to eight samples of teachers in New York, North Carolina, Texas, Wisconsin, and Indiana. While Kerlinger's samples were not described in detail, local subcultural differences between the eight samples in the five states may be assumed to exist. Nevertheless, the universality of the progressivism-traditionalism duality cannot be said to have been established without cross-cultural comparative testing. The perceptual "unities" isolated by Kerlinger may not be the same factors to emerge in different cultural settings. By the same token, the word or action of a Virgin Islands teacher, seemingly harsh to a stateside observer, may not be perceived as such by Virgin Islands parent, teacher or child. Gordon Lewis takes this view:

> An American pedagogical theory may be tempted to view (Virgin Islands child-rearing patterns) as repressive or authoritarian; a stateside educator's document such as Robert Dalton's Mothers and Children, written for the local Division of Mental Health, derives its pessimistic conclusions from the temptation of the author to see native child characteristics through /246/ the prism of American educational theory. It is at least arguable whether the Virgin Islands parent's insistence on good manners, decorous behavior, and respect for elders is intrinsically less admirable than the continental parent's predilection for more permissive behavior patterns. What is at work here, clearly enough, is not anything so simple as the positive or negative elements of the native and alien family structures. It is, rather, a crosscurrent of conflicting general culture patterns (1972:246-247).

As noted above, the literature on childrearing and attitudes toward children in the West Indies and the Virgin Islands supports the assumption that there are cross-cultural differences in the goals of education. This assumption is further confirmed by data gathered in a series of informal observations in Head Start centers in Boston and St. Croix.

In the nearly thirty hours spent in Head Start classrooms over the course of the three years of research, the I observed variations on many standard preschool routines and activities. For example, the I was present during several "food episodes" (snack and lunch) at Head Start centers in St. Croix and Boston. The preparation, handling, serving and eating of food, and attitudes toward food and eating, are acknowledged to be repositories of the core values of a society or of a community (Wilson, 1973). Informal, unstructured observations of snack and/or lunch times in Head Start centers in St. Croix and Boston revealed differences which were sufficiently striking to merit discussion.

The first observation was of lunch-time in a Head Start center in St. Croix. The I was accompanied by the (Black Continental) Head Start Education Supervisor, and arrived just as lunch was being served. The children were all seated at tables. Aides took the bowls of food around the tables, stopping at each child's place and repeated at each one what appeared at the time to be a recitation memorized by rote, which the I wrote down: "Now you take the spoon in this little hand and with the spoon you put on your plate just the amount of vegetables (etc.)

you think you will be able to eat." This sentence was repeated mechanically, verbatim, to each child. The children seemed unfamiliar with the experience of serving themselves and several times the aides had to stop children who were overenthusiastic in heaping food on their plates. Similarly, pitchers of milk were placed on the tables and the children instructed to pour their own glasses of milk. Very clearly this was a new experience because several children appeared fearful or hesitant, and some were unable to stop pouring in time and flooded their glasses and the surrounding table. After administering the instrument and leaving the center, the I remarked to the Education Supervisor that the children seemed unfamiliar with the procedures just observed at lunch. She explained that she had been making a determined effort to introduce some Montessori-type activities, an example of which was her suggestion to the Head Start staff to allow and encourage the children to serve and feed themselves. She indicated that she felt discouraged at the very artificial and token way the staff was carrying out her suggestions.

The next observation of a Head Start food-related activity took place 2½ years later at snack time in another Cruzan classroom. In the interim, the Education Supervisor mentioned above had resigned, and a new one had not yet been named. The I arrived as snack was being prepared. The children sat waiting quietly at the tables while the teacher silently cut sandwiches at a counter on the other side of the room away from the tables. She put the cut sandwiches on plates, poured juice into glasses and put the glasses on trays, and then brought the plates

and the trays to the tables and gave each child a sandwich and a pre-poured glass of juice, instructing the children as a group to eat quietly and if they wanted more, to finish first what they had been served. There was no attempt to permit the children to serve themselves.

The third observation of a food episode was snack-time at a Boston Head Start center. The teacher sat at the table with the children and engaged in conversation with them while preparing the snack. This entailed putting pieces of bread into the toaster on the shelf behind her, cutting up sticks of margarine and putting the cut sections on plates, and mixing hot milk with cocoa powder. As they popped out of the toaster, individual pieces of toast were handed to the children. The plates of margarine were passed from child to child. Each child took his/her own knife, cut a slab of margarine, and put it on his/her own plate. Each child spread the margarine on his/her bread. The pitcher of cocoa was passed from child to child and each poured his/her own cup of cocoa. This procedure was accompanied by a running commentary by teacher and children of questions and answers about the food, the process of serving, the cocoa, what it was made of, how it was made, etc.

These three observations taken together suggest differences in Cruzan and Continental attitudes towards children and childrearing practices, and provide independent confirmation of the evidence for such differences presented in the literature cited above.

The wider implications of these impressionistic data and the literature reviewed is that cross-cultural differences in perceptions of

teacher competence do exist. This statement of cross-cultural difference received tentative support from the results of the analysis of data although these statistical findings, taken alone, because of the methodological limitations discussed above, do not provide sufficient evidence to reject or accept the null hypothesis.

Various plausible explanations for the specific significant findings which were obtained can be advanced. For example, St. Croix teachers' responses that they would look first at children's behaviors in a classroom observation of teacher competence may not reflect a "person-oriented" perceptual set, but may, instead, indicate that they would check to see that the children are well behaved and obedient, consistent with the cultural stereotype. Or, Boston teachers reported that they would look first for environmental factors perhaps because the organization and utilization of indoor space is more important in the extremes of the New England climate than in semi-tropical St. Croix; or, because Boston teachers are products of the more "materialistic" mainland culture; or, because Boston teachers cued into the words "look for" literally, and visualized the setting of the classroom observation. Or, St. Croix teachers gave significantly higher ratings to items associated with setting up and maintaining a safe and healthy learning environment because until relatively recently, public health was a major problem and child health care and resources were limited; or, St. Croix teachers gave significantly higher ratings to items associated with advancing the physical and intellectual competence of children (Factor B--the summary

index which accounted for the most between-group variance) because they had significantly less formal education than Boston teachers and felt correspondingly less confident of their own cognitive (especially reading) skills. Thus, they envisioned a competent teacher as one who does not share their lack of confidence; that is, one who is most accomplished in their own area of greatest perceived weakness; and so on. It is thus possible to generate plausible alternative interpretations of the significant differences between the two groups' perceptions of teacher competence, but it is sufficient for the purposes of this discussion to concentrate instead on the fact that there is reason to believe that there are cross-cultural differences in the perceptions of teacher competence of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers.

The reason for emphasizing this general inference rather than developing plausible interpretations of the significant findings is primarily methodological, concerning the limitations of the instrument and cross-cultural procedures. For example, the study was limited by the fact that the one competency Factor (D) which was excluded from discussions of results because of its unreliable properties, was also the one Factor which attempted to measure the perceptual dimension which is conventionally recognized as an area of marked cross-cultural normative differences in teacher behaviors and attitudes. Further, it would be difficult to say to what extent the particular between-group differences which were found in the study were influenced by which particular methodological factor(s). Possibly, a repetition of the study using, for

example, a forced-choice technique with an instrument administered to a larger sample by trained local native speakers of Cruzan Caribbean Creole and the Boston Black English Vernacular would result in a different particular set of significant findings.

In fact, there is little doubt that the design of the study could be improved and the outcomes made thereby more accessible to detailed interpretation by, for example, the addition of a test-re-test component; the incorporation of a standard cross-cultural attitude inventory such as Harrison Gough's California Psychological Inventory (Brislin, 1973); a re-working of the written questionnaire items into a Q-sort technique, as well as other methodological changes mentioned above. A refinement of the research techniques and study design might provide more detailed information on the specific character of the significant between-group differences. Were the study to be repeated, it would be recommended that these changes be made. A follow-up study might take as its purpose the examination of the particular ways in which Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers differ in their perceptions of teacher competence in order, for example, to make specific proposals or recommendations for differential formulation and/or interpretation of the CDA competencies in the two Head Start systems.

It was the purpose of the present study to examine in a general way the applicability of a North American conception of teacher competence to an education program in the Virgin Islands. The implementing question associated with the general purpose of the study was whether

the perceptions of teacher competence of two groups of Head Start teachers in different cultural settings were significantly different with respect to the official teacher performance standards of the Head Start program. Despite the methodological limitations of the empirical part of the study, which prohibited the unqualified acceptance or rejection of the null hypothesis, it was suggested that perceptions of teacher competence of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers might be shown to differ in several respects. The implications of these findings for practice and for future research will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary. The object of this dissertation has been to study the perceptions of teacher competence of Cruzan and Continental Head Start classroom teachers. The development of the study followed three main lines of inquiry.

First, the study proceeded in the tradition of teacher effectiveness research by singling out one dimension of the multidimensional concept of teacher competence. The political dimension was chosen. The evidence for conceptualizing teacher competence in political terms was considered to be particularly relevant because the body of teacher effectiveness research has typically failed to acknowledge that there is a statutory basis for the regulatory system which legitimizes the assessment of teacher competence. Teacher effectiveness research has further failed to acknowledge that the nature of this system may theoretically influence the way teacher competency standards are formulated and applied. Equally important, the conceptualization of teacher competence in political terms was given particular emphasis because the investigation of teacher competence was conducted in the context of a specific education program. The education program in question--Head Start--was conceived and implemented by political means for political ends. The confusion of political and educational program goals in the Head Start literature reflects the deeper contradictions which characterize the history of "maximum feasible participation" in the Poverty Program.

These contradictions were expressed in the ambivalence of the administrative agency toward the process of consumer participation in standards formulation which elicited angry responses from minority professional and consumer groups. These groups saw the unilateral and centralized development and eventual dissemination of CDA competence criteria in program performance standards as inconsistent with the promise of maximum feasible participation.

The second line of inquiry followed the tradition of the critical reading of historical and interpretive materials. The literature on Caribbean colonial history and education was reviewed and definitive features of colonial experience identified and incorporated in a functional analysis of the Americanization of education in the Virgin Islands. Education in the Virgin Islands was seen to share with other classic colonial systems such defining characteristics as dependence ("deficit-modelling"), exogenous decision-making (the opposite of "maximum feasible participation"), assumption of the status implications of colonial schooling and the related tendency of the education system to function as a conservative social force. The identification of these features of the colonial experience made it possible to recognize in the implementation of compensatory education programs, and in the development of the CDA program, specifically, elements of functional similarity to the colonial model.

The third line of inquiry took impetus from the substantive issues developed through the first and second lines of inquiry and proceeded in

the tradition of the cross-cultural comparative field study. Reviewing briefly, the first part of the dissertation established the rationale for conceptualizing teacher competence in political terms with the concomitant expectation that the criteria by which teacher competence would be judged were likely to vary in different communities. The second part of the study identified the characteristics of colonial experience particularly in relation to the process of education. The purpose of this aspect of the study was to lay the groundwork for an examination of the probability that an education program defined as colonial in function would be similarly perceived in different cultural settings. The third part of the study then took an empirical approach to determine whether or not two groups of Head Start teachers in different cultural settings had different perceptions of teacher competence in the context of an education program possessing some of the definitive features of the colonial model.

The respondents in the study were twelve Head Start classroom teachers in St. Croix and twelve Head Start classroom teachers in Roxbury-North Dorchester and the South End of Boston. The samples were matched closely for race, ethnicity, sex, and total years of Head Start work experience. The samples differed in years of experience as Head Start classroom teachers and in years of formal education, as well as in terms of organization and relationships to the Head Start administrative agencies. The approach taken was to administer a questionnaire and a structured interview (See Appendix A) in order to elicit Head Start

teachers' perceptions of teacher competence. The questionnaire consisted of a list of teacher characteristics and behaviors derived from CDA competency areas. For the purposes of analysis, these areas were operationalized as competency Factors A-E. The interview asked teachers what they would look for in the context of a classroom observation in order to determine teacher competence. A coding system based on the Bank Street Model Observation Checklist (Lukas and Wohlleb, 1974) was developed for the purposes of analysis of responses to the interview question. After establishing the reliability and discriminant validity of the five competency Factors, a number of statistical tests to detect between-group differences were performed on the questionnaire and the interview data.

The null hypothesis was that there were no significant differences between Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers in their perceptions of teacher competence. Despite methodological and substantive factors which theoretically contributed to the acceptance of the null hypothesis, significant between-group differences were obtained in several areas. The areas of greatest variance were the summary indices represented by Factors A and B. That is, St. Croix teachers were significantly more likely to assign high importance to items associated with teachers' ability to advance physical and intellectual competence of children (Factor B, $p < .02$). This Factor accounted for more between-group variance than any other summary index. St. Croix teachers were significantly more likely to assign high importance to items associated

with the teachers' ability to set up and maintain a safe and healthy learning environment (Factor A, $p < .04$). For methodological reasons described in the foregoing chapter, the null hypothesis was neither accepted nor rejected. Furthermore, a discussion of results emphasizing the existence of between-group differences based on the literature review and impressionistic data was seen, for the purposes of the present study, to be more heuristic than the development of plausible alternative interpretations of the significant and non-significant findings.

Further work might be done on the specific characteristics of Cruzan and Continental between-group differences in perceptions of teacher competence, for the purpose of providing information upon which to model culturally-relevant competency criteria. Future cross-cultural studies of perceptions of teacher competence in Head Start classrooms should also include a method for tapping parental opinion. While the consumer group relative to the CDA program consists of the teachers who become trainees in the program, the ultimate consumers of Head Start educational and social services are children and their parents. The educational values of these consumers--their perceptions of the goals of the educational process for their children--must be incorporated in any attempt to formulate culturally-relevant competency criteria for Head Start teachers.

Conclusion.

> . . . (N)o reality transforms itself . . . The pedagogy of the oppressed, which is the pedagogy of men engaged in the fight for their own liberation, has its roots here (. . . with our affirmation of the need for the critical intervention of the people in reality through the praxis). And those who recognize, or begin to recognize, themselves as oppressed must be among the developers of this pedagogy. No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption (Freire, 1968:39).

The goal of this study was to explore the probability that the performance standards of an education program characterized as colonial in several respects would be similarly perceived in different cultural settings. In the service of this goal, an exploratory study of perceptions of teacher competence in Cruzan and Continental Head Start classrooms was conducted. A follow-up study might undertake to examine and describe the particular ways in which Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers differ in their perceptions of teacher competence. Such a study could provide information to (for example) a local task force composed of Head Start parents, teachers, and administrators, convened for the purpose of formulating culturally relevant competency criteria. From the point of view of making specific recommendations about the differential formulation and interpretation of CDA competencies for Cruzan Head Start teachers, further research may be needed, but sufficient knowledge exists to draw some conclusions about the direction and form

of the work which might prove most productive in the future. Alternatives for study design and procedures were presented in the foregoing chapter. These suggestions, taken together with the literature on cross-cultural research methodology, indicate that any future cross-cultural work should be undertaken jointly by a Virgin Islands-Continental cross-cultural team, and at the invitation of the local administrative agency.

There is strong feeling in the Virgin Islands about the fact that since Transfer, the academic study commissions which have issued reports, the conferences, panels, and symposia which have made recommendations, and the independent consulting firms, commissioned by local and/or federal government agencies, which have conducted studies, have all drawn in essence what appear, in retrospect, to have been three predictable conclusions:

First, education in the Virgin Islands is in trouble because Virgin Islanders are not like middle class white Americans ("absence of normal family life," etc) (Dickinson, 1929; Robinson, 1954); second, this situation should be corrected through education, so curricula should be developed which bear more relevance to Virgin Islands life, both as an incentive for students to attach more importance to education and as a way of reducing cognitive dissonance between school and home (Blauch, 1939; Dalton, 1968; Hubbard, 1971; Kohls, 1974); third, more federal money should be made available to achieve the recommended goals. There is also strong feeling about the fact that the commissions, panels,

and consultants who have conducted the studies and made the recommendations have consisted chiefly of Continental professionals. An example is the Research Conference on Virgin Islands Education which was commissioned by the Virgin Islands Board of Education to be planned by and held at Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, in 1968. The conference "was attended by a group of experts in the social sciences from various universities on the mainland and addressed itself to two questions: 1) What should be the goals of Virgin Islands education and how can these goals be carried out? 2) What are the research priorities associated with the improvement of the Virgin Islands educational system?" (Varlack, 1974:81). Notably, at this conference convened for the purpose of formulating Virgin Islands educational goals and research priorities, there was not one representative from the Virgin Islands in attendance (Murphy, 1977; Varlack, 1974). A more recent example, and one which is directly relevant to CDA program implementation, is that when, in 1974, the College of the Virgin Islands received a grant to develop a curriculum for training local CDAs, the field of applicants for the position of CDA curriculum developer was eventually narrowed to two final candidates; both of them were White Continentals.

The purpose of this discussion is not to suggest that the problems of education in the Virgin Islands would be solved if Virgin Islanders alone conducted studies and proposed solutions. As noted in Chapter III, the Harrigan-Varlack analysis of education in the Virgin Islands suffers, in its recommendation for curricular reform, from the

same limitations in interpretation which characterized the work of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in colonial Africa. Ironically perhaps, the Virgin Islanders who might best be able to effect the kinds of systemic changes which would begin to release the system of education in the Virgin Islands from the pervasive American social and cultural imprint, are precisely the educators and legislators who have successfully passed through the system as it has existed, and who thus form the native elite. Theirs, in large measure, are the vested interests the system continues to protect (Gibson, 1976; Lewis, 1972; Williams, 1968). For this reason one might predict that the Virgin Islands will continue to accept and will in fact actively seek out the continued material benefits associated with American cultural dominance. The alternative, after Lewis (1972)--of ridding school and society of the American cultural imprint--would presumably mean the loss of such benefits by those who presently enjoy them as well as by those who aspire to achieve them.

Any hope for change must thus be seen to reside in the redistribution of power "to include those outside the system, insuring a new source of energy as the basis of institutional change" (Riessman, 1970: 14-15). This, at least theoretically, is in the tradition of the "maximum feasible participation" clause of the Economic Opportunity Act and is what the CDA program is ostensibly committed to do, via, for example, the inclusion of parents in Local Assessment Teams for the purpose of assessing teacher competence. The antecedent unilateral formulation and promulgation of standardized teacher competency criteria seems antithe-

tical to this commitment. It is perhaps one of the essential contradictions of history--and certainly one of the essential laws of bureaucracies (Downs, 1967)--that an agency or an individual may voice a commitment to, but cannot or will not ultimately promote a program which, if entirely successful, would undermine the raison d'être of the agency or the individual.

Unfortunately, it is neither within the scope of this dissertation nor within the powers of this writer to resolve the essential contradictions of history. On a more modest scale, however, it is possible to submit answers to the two questions around which this study was organized. One central organizing question related to the existence of cross-cultural differences in perceptions of teacher competence. The results of the empirical study indicate that there may be significant differences in perceptions of teacher competence between two groups of Cruzan and Continental Head Start teachers. Impressionistic data and the review of the literature also suggest that there are cross-cultural differences in perceptions of teacher competence. The likelihood that significant differences exist implies that significantly different competency criteria might appropriately be formulated in accordance with the educational values and goals of the different consumer groups.

The fact that the funding agency has persisted in promoting a single, standardized set of competency criteria raises the other central organizing question: Whether educational standards and values can be effectively applied cross-culturally? Most of the literature which ad-

dresses this question seems to be committed on principle to a negative answer which, however, belies the reality. Educational standards and values can be and have been successfully transferred cross-culturally. In the case of the Virgin Islands, as noted in Chapter II, the fact that the educational system has serious problems is not seen as evidence of failure to effectively apply the standards cross-culturally. Rather, it is taken to mean that the system has been successfully transferred and functions as it does in the Continental U.S., as an institution which effectively serves only the dominant subcultural groups.

The fact that educational standards can be and have been effectively applied cross-culturally does not begin to address the question of whether they should be thus applied. This is a question which Virgin Islanders and members of other subcultural groups within the sphere of dominance of the United States cultural mainstream must answer for themselves. Any hope for change, as noted above, must involve a redistribution of power to cancel out the tradition of exogenous decision-making, accompanied by a process of re-education and de-mystification to illuminate how the American system of education works, and for whom. The process of re-education and de-mystification is of critical importance. It does not imply curricular reform. It goes beyond radical restatements of the goals of education. It implies instead the development of a new "pedagogy" in Freire's sense of the word, through the process of "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (p. 19). Al-

ternatively, as long as colonial status endures--characterized in part by exogenous decision-making and the tendency to impose the status implications of Western education--the popular mythology of the colony will continue to associate the mainland-oriented educational system with success measured by the values of the metropole.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. Questionnaire

A competent Head Start teacher must have certain abilities and skills. Certain other abilities and skills are not as important. How important is it for a Head Start teacher to have each of the following in order to be judged as competent? Please rate each item on the scale from "Not Important" to "Very Important." (Put an "x" in the circle)

	NOT IMPORTANT						VERY IMPORTANT
Knows principles of child development:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Knows principles of good nutrition:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Keeps storage areas organized:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Has knowledge of First Aid:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Observant:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Keeps work and play areas clean:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Teaches good grooming to children:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Wears neat and proper attire:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Follows safety regulations:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Is in good health:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Knows a lot of classroom activities:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Is a good reader:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Energetic:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Has diagnostic skill for learning disabilities	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Has diagnostic skill for physical disabilities	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Teaches children to share:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Takes class on trips:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Encourages independence:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Has self-confidence:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Uses correct language:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Encourages group activities, team spirit:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Friendly:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Talks a lot:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Interested in the individual child:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Keeps a quiet classroom:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Individualizes instruction:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Interested in the individual parent:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Is a good listener:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Has frequent physical contact with children:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Teacher lives in the community:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Respects the children:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Strict:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Sociable with parents:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Knows how to manage a budget:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Teacher is native to the community:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Enforces rules:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Encourages free expression in children:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Uses firm disciplinary measures:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Visits parents at home:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Invites parents to classroom:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Keeps class under control:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Has artistic talent:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Plays a musical instrument:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Has a soft voice:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Permissive:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Same cultural background as children:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Attends church regularly:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Has deep religious beliefs:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Female:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Male:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Young:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Middle-aged:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Elderly:	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

APPENDIX A. Structured Interview

1) Name of Head Start Center where you work: _____

2) How long have you worked here? _____

3) What is your present position? _____

4) How long have you held this position? _____

5) What other position(s) have you held previously in this Center?
_____

6) Other positions held previously elsewhere? _____
_____

7) Highest grade completed: ____ ____ ____ ____ ____
6th 8th 12th B.A. Other

8) Have you received any on the job training? _____

9) If you participated in training workshops, how many? _____

10) Subject(s) of workshops: _____
_____

11) Where were the workshops conducted? _____

12) Who conducted the workshops? _____

13) Were the workshops helpful? _____

14) What was the most helpful feature of the workshops? _____
_____

15) What was the least helpful feature of the workshops? _____
_____

16) Your birthplace: _____

17) Name of neighborhood where you now live: _____

18) If you entered a Head Start classroom as an observer, what would be the first thing you would look for to determine whether the classroom teacher was competent? _____

What would be the second thing to look for? _____

The third thing? _____

Fourth? _____

19) What are the five most useful skills a Head Start teacher must have?
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____

CDA COMPETENCIES

A. SET UP AND MAINTAIN A SAFE AND HEALTHY LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

1. Organize space into functional areas recognizable by the children, e.g., block building, library, dramatic play.

2. Maintain a planned arrangement for furniture, equipment and materials and for large and small motor skills learning, and for play materials that is understandable to the children.

3. Organize the classroom so that it is possible for the children to be appropriately responsible for care of belongings and materials.

4. Arrange the setting to allow for active movement as well as quiet engagement.

5. Take preventive measures against hazards to physical safety.

6. Keep light, air and heat conditions at best possible levels.

7. Establish a planned sequence of active and quiet periods, of balanced indoor and outdoor activities.

8. Provide for flexibility of planned arrangements for space and schedule to adjust to special circumstances and needs of a particular group of children or make use of special educational opportunities.

9. Recognize unusual behaviour or symptoms which may indicate a need for health care.

B. ADVANCE PHYSICAL AND INTELLECTUAL COMPETENCE

1. Use the kind of materials, activities and experiences that encourage exploring, experimenting, questioning, that help children fulfill curiosity, gain mastery, and progress toward higher levels of achievement.

2. Recognize and provide for the young child's basic impulses to explore the physical environment, master the problems that require skillful body coordination.

3. Increase knowledge of things in their world by stimulating observation and providing for manipulative constructive activities.

4. Use a variety of techniques for advancing language comprehension and usage in an atmosphere that encourages free verbal communication among the children and between children and adults.

5. Work gradually toward recognition of the symbols for designating words and numbers.

6. Promote cognitive power by stimulating children to organize their experience (as it occurs incidentally or pre-planned for them) in terms of relationships and conceptual dimensions: classes of objects; similarities and differences, comparative size, amount, degree orientation in time and space; growth and decay; origins; family kinship, casuality.

7. Provide varied opportunities for children's active participation, independent choices, experimentation and problem-solving within the context of a structured, organized setting and program.

8. Balance unstructured materials such as paint, clay, blocks with structured materials that require specific procedures and skills; balance the use of techniques that invite exploration and independent discovery with techniques that demonstrate and instruct.

9. Stimulate focused activities: observing, attending, initiating, carrying through, raising questions, searching answers and solutions for the real problems that are encountered and reviewing the outcome of experience.

10. Support expressive activities by providing a variety of creative art media, and allowing children freedom to symbolize in their own terms without imposition of standards of realistic representation.

11. Utilize, support and develop the play impulse in its various symbolic and dramatic forms, as an essential component of the program; fiving time, space, necessary materials and guidance in accord with its importance for deepening and clarifying thought and feeling in early childhood.

12. Extend children's knowledge, through direct and vicarious experience, of how things work, of what animals and plants need to live, of basic work processes necessary for everyday living.

13. Acquaint children with the people who keep things functioning in their immediate environment.

C. BUILD POSITIVE SELF-CONCEPT AND INDIVIDUAL STRENGTH

1. Provide an environment of acceptance in which the child can grow toward a sense of positive identity as a boy/girl, as a member of his family and ethnic group, as a competent individual with a place in the child community.

2. Give direct, realistic affirmation to the child's advancing skills, growing initiative and responsibility, increasing capacity for adaptation, and emerging interest in cooperation, in terms of the child's actual behaviour.

3. Demonstrate acceptance to the child by including his home language functionally in the group setting and helping him to use it as a bridge to another language for the sake of extending communication.

4. Deal with individual differences in children's style and pace of learning and in the social-emotional aspects of their life situations by adjusting the teacher-child relationship to individual needs, by using a variety of teaching methods and by maintaining flexible progressive expectations.

5. Recognize when behaviour reflects emotional conflicts around trust, possession, separation, rivalry, etc., and adapt the program of experiences, teacher-child and child-child relationships so as both give support to and enlarge the capacity to face these problems realistically.

6. Be albe to assess special needs of individual children and call in specialist help where necessary.

7. Keep a balance for the individual child between tasks and experiences from which he can enjoy feelins of mastery and success and those other tasks and experiences which are a suitable and stimulating challenge to him yet not likely to lead to discouraging failure.

8. Assess levels of accomplishment for the individual child against the background of norms of attainment for a developmental stage, taking into careful consideration his individual strengths and weaknesses and considering opportunities he has or has not had for learning and development.

D. ORGANIZE AND SUSTAIN THE POSITIVE FUNCTIONING OF CHILDREN AND ADULTS IN A GROUP IN A LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

1. Plan the program of activities for the children to include opportunities for playing and working together and sharing experiences and responsibilities with adults in a spirit of enjoyment as well as for the sake of social development.

2. Create an atmosphere through example and attitude where it is natural and acceptable to express feelings both positive and negative: love, sympathy, enthusiasm, pain, frustration, loneliness or anger.

3. Establish a reasonable system of limits, rules, and regulations to be understood, honoured and protected by both children and adults, appropriate to the stage of development.

4. Foster acceptance and appreciation of cultural variety by children and adults as an enrichment of personal experience; develop projects that utilize cultural variation in the family population as resource for the educational program.

E. BRING ABOUT OPTIMAL COORDINATION OF HOME AND CENTER CHILD-REARING PRACTICES AND EXPECTATIONS

1. Incorporate important elements of the cultural backgrounds of the families being served, food, language, music, holidays, etc., into the children's program in order to offer them continuity between home and center settings at this early stage of development.

2. Establish relationships with parents that facilitate the free flow of information about their children's lives inside and outside the center.

3. Communicate and interact with parents toward the goal of understanding and considering the priorities of their values for their children.

4. Perceive each child as a member of his particular family and work with his family to resolve disagreements between the family's life style with children and the center's handling of child behaviour and images of good education.

5. Recognize and utilize the strengths and talents of parents as they may contribute to the development of their own children and give parents every possible opportunity to participate and enrich the group program.

F. CARRY OUT SUPPLEMENTARY RESPONSIBILITIES RELATED TO THE CHILDREN'S PROGRAM

1. Make observations on the growth and development of individual children and changes in group behaviour formally or informally, verbally or in writing, and share this information with other staff involved in the program.

2. Engage with other staff in cooperative planning activities such as a schedule or program changes indicated as necessary to meet particular needs of a given group of children or incorporation of new knowledge or techniques as these become available in the general field of early childhood education.

3. Be aware of management functions such as ordering of supplies and equipment, scheduling of staff time (helpers, volunteers, parent participants) monitoring food and transportation services, safe-guarding health and safety and transmit needs for efficient functioning to the responsible staff member or consultant.